

Да здравствует русская
революция!

Да здравствует
всемирная социалистиче-
ская революция!

Н. Ленин.

25 апреля 1917 года,

LONG LIVE
THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE
THE WORLD
SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION!

N. LENIN

APRIL 25, 1917



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS • MOSCOW



LENIN THROUGH THE EYES OF THE WORLD

Letters
and
Comments
from
Abroad

Translated from the Russian by K. M. COOK

Compiled by K. F. BOGDANOVA and A. P. YAKUSHINA

Russian text edited by V. V. ANIKEYEV, A. A. SOLOVYOV

ПИСЬМА В. И. ЛЕНИНУ ИЗ-ЗА РУБЕЖА

На английском языке

First printing 1969

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CONTENTS

<i>Page</i>	
5	<i>Introduction</i>
	PART ONE
19	The Years of Exile
	PART TWO
51	Sons of the Revolution
	PART THREE
179	Comrades-in-Arms
	PART FOUR
205	The World in Mourning
	PART FIVE
267	Foreign Friends Reminisce
	PART SIX
329	The Flat in the Kremlin
335	<i>Name Index</i>

Introduction

This book is no ordinary one. It is a collection of documents written by a large number of people of different race and nationality with varying religious and political convictions. Yet there is one thing which they all have in common—their affection and respect for Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The documents all relate to one period, that of the proletarian revolutions. They cover the first popular revolution of the imperialist epoch and the first imperialist world war which brought hunger, sickness, suffering and death to millions of people. They convey the atmosphere of the great humanitarian October Revolution by which, for the first time in the history of mankind, the peoples of Russia established workers' and peasants' power and laid the foundation stone for the building of communism. There are also documents written in the present day. About 200 in all, they represent a minute fraction of the great influx of letters and telegrams, notes and memoirs, resolutions and pledges which the people of the world addressed to Lenin. They epitomise the great love felt by millions of people for the man whose ideas and actions not only explained the world, but transformed it, for the Communist Party which he created and for the Soviet people whose worthiest son he was. All these movingly human documents revolve round the name of Lenin because he devoted his life to the whole of mankind and because his teaching, like the man himself, belongs to all people everywhere.

Let us now open the book and trace the events described in it. Its first part is entitled *The Years of Exile*. Lenin, or Vladimir Ulyanov as he was known then, received the letters of this period not in Russia but in various countries abroad where the leader of the party of the Bolsheviks was compelled to flee in order to avoid tsarist persecution.

This part opens with a letter written in 1904, the first year of the Russo-Japanese War. Hundreds of

Russian soldiers were taken prisoner and Lenin, himself living in an alien country, felt a deep sympathy for these captive Russian workers and peasants. He asked the Japanese Social-Democrats to give them every possible assistance, particularly in the provision of literature. A letter from the editor of the Japanese Social-Democratic newspaper on which the future founder of the Communist Party of Japan, Sen Katayama, worked, informs Lenin that his request had been carried out. This letter is full of respect for Lenin and the R.S.D.L.P. (the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party). "I should be glad of any opportunity to do something for you and your comrades from Russia. I look forward to the speedy success of Russian Social-Democracy" (see Doc. No. 1).

The year is 1905. The tsarist government commits the terrible crime of shooting down Russian workers in front of the Winter Palace. A bitter wave of anger and indignation sweeps over the country and the seeds of revolution are sown. Progressive circles all over the world are shocked by the events of "Bloody Sunday" and share their feelings with the man who stands at the head of insurgent Russia—Lenin. The French Social-Democrats write: "Together with you we lament the stupidity of the army which cannot recognise its friends" (see Doc. No. 2)—and raise funds to help the victims of the shooting. Lenin also receives letters from Italy and New York (see Doc. Nos. 3, 10) informing him of the collection of funds in aid of the Russian revolutionary movement and the R.S.D.L.P.

Then follow documents relating to the years 1912-1913. The world is in a ferment of unrest. The storm-clouds of war are gathering over Europe. This tension is reflected in the letters addressed to Lenin.

The Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International, Camille Huysmans, announces the convocation of an Extraordinary Congress in Basle and enquires who will represent the R.S.D.L.P. at the Congress (Doc. Nos. 4-6).

From far-off America a request is received from the Boston School of Political Economy for "a copy of the

platform" of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin complies with this request, and simultaneously the American newspaper *Appeal to Reason* in the State of Kansas sends Lenin several issues and describes the spread of socialist ideas in the West of the States (see Doc. No. 9).

Then follows May 27, 1915. The all-devouring flames of war are raging over Europe and the parties and leaders of the 2nd International adopt an openly chauvinistic position to defend the imperialist fatherland, thus bringing about the collapse of the 2nd International. Only the Bolsheviks remain firm as the single internationalist party with the aim of defeating tsarism and transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against the tsarist government, the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

With Lenin at its head the Bolshevik party does its utmost to convey its ideas to the international proletariat and help the latter to break away from the influence of the social-chauvinist policy of the opportunists of the 2nd International. At this time Lenin devotes all his energy to consolidating the internationalist forces within the international working-class movement.

He conducts a lively correspondence with David Wijnkoop, Anton Pannekoek and others, the main subject of which is the calling of the Zimmerwald Conference (see Doc. Nos. 12-17).

Representatives of the Left wing of the Dutch Social-Democrats support Lenin, pledging themselves to "fight as revolutionaries against the war and capitalism with *all* the means at our disposal, and if this is taken up seriously by the workers it will inevitably lead to civil war, i.e., a class struggle which we naturally prefer to war between nations" (see Doc. No. 13). They ask Lenin to draw up a declaration for the meeting and circulate it to the revolutionary socialist groups of the various countries. Lenin acts immediately, and by July 22, 1915 the draft declaration of the Left-wing Social-Democrats for the forthcoming Zimmerwald Conference has been compiled and circulated.

We are now nearing the end of the first part. The penultimate document is a letter from Fritz Platten, a member of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, who was subsequently to play an important part in helping Lenin to return to Russia in 1917.

The second part contains documents covering the period from November 1917 to January 1924. These are no longer addressed to Geneva, Cracow or Bern, but to the Kremlin in Moscow. They are infused with the spirit of a new age in the history of mankind, for the socialist revolution has taken place in Russia, giving birth to a new state, the first state in which power is held by the workers and peasants. A new chapter has opened up in world history—the era of socialism and communism. The practical application of Marxism-Leninism has borne fruit in the form of the establishment of the Soviet Socialist Republic covering one-sixth of the earth's surface. The capitalist world reacted to the birth of the Soviet Republic with bitter hostility and immediately began preparations for a crusade against it. Its emergence was hailed in a spirit of rejoicing and hope by working people all over the world, however, and we find some truly moving documents written by ordinary people to the man under whose leadership the new Russia was born.

Take the correspondence in *Pravda*, for example, describing the events which took place on the tenth day in the life of the Soviet Republic. Lenin is in the Smolny, the headquarters of the October Revolution and the first seat of the Soviet Government, receiving a delegation of 300 Belgian workers. In the name of their fellow-workers, writes *Pravda*, "the delegation asked Lenin to tell the Russian proletariat that the Belgian workers were with them heart and soul in the struggle for peace and socialism.... The Belgian workers were ready to give full support to the new workers' and peasants' government because its programme is that of the whole international proletariat" (see Doc. No. 20). American workers also expressed their proletarian solidarity with the new government and acknowledged the world-wide significance of this great

achievement by the Russian workers, which is accelerating the course of history. This is what they wrote to Lenin and through him to the workers of Russia in December 1917: "You, the Russian workers, who have taken control into your own hands and are creating a new social structure, are moulding much more than your own future: you are inspiring and accelerating a revolutionary movement, the like of which has never been seen before" (see Doc. No. 25). Letters from England, Italy, Germany, France, Switzerland, Colombia, China and other countries express gratitude and admiration for the great revolutionary achievements of the Russian people. Eminent figures in the international working-class movement acclaim the proletarian revolution and its leader, Lenin, together with the workers. On August 29 Klara Zetkin wrote to Lenin that Russia was a "land which, thanks to the bold uprising of the Bolsheviks, is forging ahead showing the way to the international proletariat," that she was following the news in Russia "with fervent interest and bated breath" where "great things are being done for mankind" (see Doc. No. 28). Herman Gorter, the Dutch poet, remarked in a letter to Lenin that "the Russian revolutionaries and you in particular, Comrade, have won immortal fame, and by your example have rendered outstanding services to the proletarian cause all over the world and to the whole of mankind" (see Doc. No. 26).

The letters to Lenin not only express admiration for the proletarian revolution, but also demonstrate that the actions of the Russian people were near and dear to the proletariat of the whole world. They contain many expressions of willingness to work hand in hand with the new Russia for the building of a new life.

A member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Workers' Party, F. Pavlovski, who had spent three years in Russia, wrote expressing his deep gratitude to Lenin and the whole Russian proletariat for their warm hospitality and said: "We shall never forget this shining example of proletarian solidarity! It will be our hope and stay during the hard battle which

awaits us in Czechoslovakia and I am convinced that with this as our support we will emerge victorious" (see Doc. No. 46). Ben Turner, a representative of the English labour movement, also expressed his delight at the Russian Revolution. In his letter to Lenin of May 29, 1920 he wrote: "It has been to one and all a wonderful example of determined and scientific attempts to build up a Workers' Republic. That you will succeed I am sure" (see Doc. No. 45).

The international proletariat followed the life of the young Soviet Republic with great interest rejoicing at its successes in the struggle for independence. Among the enormous number of letters and resolutions condemning the intervention of Russia by the foreign armies of the capitalist powers, Lenin received a letter from Australia. In the name of 100,000 organised workers the trade unions of the State of New South Wales viewed with approval "the failure of International Capitalism to destroy the Russian Soviet Republic" (see Doc. No. 41).

Having successfully put an end to the Civil War the Soviet country turned to the task of building up its economy in unbelievably difficult conditions. Foreign workers came to the aid of the Soviet people in these hard years as well, as can be seen from the letters which Lenin received from abroad. Their assistance took many different forms.

In 1921 there was a terrible famine in Russia and on August 2 Lenin wrote his Appeal to the International Proletariat in which he requested help for the starving Russian workers and peasants.

There was an immediate response from workers all over the world. English workers sent parcels and the Italian Communists proposed setting up an International Workers' Loan with the slogan "Help for the starving people of Soviet Russia". Lenin received a letter dated May 15, 1921 written by the Secretary of an organisation known as the Round Table of Oceano in the state of California. In it the writer suggests that use might be made in Russia of an invention by N. Tesla in the wireless transmission of electric power

(see Doc. No. 55). It is interesting to note that the writer shows a good understanding of Lenin's views on the importance of electrification for the building of communism.

The attempted assassination of Lenin in 1918 provoked a storm of condemnation, and there was great rejoicing, mingled with anxious concern for his health, when he resumed his duties as head of the state and the Party.

On hearing that Lenin had been wounded in August 1918 the Constituent Assembly of the Finnish Communists wrote to him as follows: "Dear Comrade. It was with profound grief and anger that we received the news that *you, the leader of the international revolutionary working class movement* and the noblest warrior of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, had been wounded by the bullet of a murderess secretly dispatched by the bourgeoisie" (see Doc. No. 29). On September 5, 1918 the Spartacus group sent Lenin their "deep sympathy and sincere best wishes for a speedy recovery" (see Doc. No. 31). On learning that Lenin had recovered the Dutch Communists expressed their delight that he was "again able to take part in the work dedicated to international communism" (see Doc. No. 32).

After Lenin's recovery from a serious illness in 1922, the English Communists wrote to him saying that this recovery would inspire the proletariat with new strength and that "despite many divisions in working-class ranks, (in Great Britain—*Auth.*), tens of thousands of workers are at one in rejoicing that you are once more able to resume your work of furthering the cause of international working-class emancipation" (see Doc. No. 81).

Lenin also received letters requesting permission to publish his works abroad and commenting on them. The response to his brilliant essays *The State and Revolution* and "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* is most interesting. On October 24, 1918 Herman Gorter wrote to Lenin as follows: "I have read your book *The State and Revolution* with enormous

pleasure. It is making a colossal impression in Holland as well" (see Doc. No. 33). The German Communist Jakob Eckert describes the impact made on him by "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*: "A study of your brochure "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* strengthened me in the conviction that the tactics of the March campaign were opposed to all the basic principles of Communist tactics" (see Doc. No. 56). Robin Dunbar from California had this to say about the brochure: "Your brochure "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*... is a clear-cut analytical calm discussion and convinced me if I wanted to be of help to my fellow socialists I must get into the harness and help pull the load with the rest of them instead of standing along the roadside criticising" (see Doc. No. 70).

These letters to Lenin contain a sharp analysis of the true nature of capitalist society, describing the repression of all freedom, the persecution of workers' organisations, murder without trial and the investigation of members of progressive workers' organisations.

"On the night of August 1 in Butte in the State of Montana," we read in a letter from America, "a gang of masked men broke into the apartment of Frank Little, a member of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) and, although Little was a cripple and a sick man, seized him and dragged him round the streets tied to the back of a car. They then hanged him on the railway bridge pinning a warning on his dead body to other members of the I.W.W. that a similar fate awaited them. The local authorities and the government have not made the slightest attempt to investigate these crimes" (see Doc. No. 25). In all these criminal acts by the "champions of freedom" of America a shameful role was played by the American Federation of Labour which "is, in fact, nothing more nor less than... an appendage of capitalism". What a striking resemblance to the America of the present day!

At the same time many of these letters are truly human documents and a vivid illustration of the efforts of working-class men and women to consolidate peace

on earth, for which the unity of the working masses was an essential prerequisite. A special role in this struggle is assigned by the workers to Soviet Russia (see Doc. Nos. 25, 27, 44, 75, *et al.*). Thus American workers assure the Russian workers of their deep friendship and express the hope "that in the very near future true democracy and lasting peace will triumph the whole world over" (see Doc. No. 25) and the Association of Chinese Workers declares that "it is essential for us to do our utmost to create a new, magnificent, eternal world for mankind" (see Doc. No. 44). These hopes and aspirations were shared by workers the whole world over.

We have now nearly reached the end of the second part. It closes with a letter from the women Communists of Moravia. They are sending Lenin, the bearer of the idea of "world internationalism", a piece of embroidery with the words of the anthem of the working class, the *Internationale*. These women, mothers, who bring life into the world and whose hearts are full of loving care and anxiety for their children, wish the leader of the world proletariat "the fullest recovery and many more years of life for the benefit of our generation and our children" (see Doc. No. 88).

The third part of the book consists of the records of those who, under Lenin's guidance, worked together with him to build the international organisation of the proletariat, the Third Communist International. We are listening to his comrades-in-arms. These documents were written during the 2nd Congress of the Communist International which took place from July 19 to August 7, 1920. They were inspired by the unforgettable impression made on the leaders of the international working-class movement by their first meeting with Lenin. At one of the sessions Congress delegates resolved to record what they thought about Vladimir Ilyich in written form.

For this purpose a special album was produced entitled *Congress Delegates Talk About Comrade Lenin*. It includes entries in many different languages from the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties

all over the world. Each entry is a comment on Lenin as a person, revolutionary, fighter and scholar, and on his philosophical and political ideas. They underline Lenin's unique contribution to mankind, and contain a solemn vow to follow the course he had charted.

The first entry in the album is from John Reed, the author of the famous book *Ten Days That Shook the World*, a book which Lenin considered should become a guide for every member of the working class. It consists of these two eloquent sentences: "Lenin, simplest, most human; and yet most far-seeing and immovable. Lenin—the locomotive of history" (see Doc. No. 89). The delegates saw Lenin as the illustrious successor to Marx. "Yes, the great spirit of Marx lives once again in Lenin," writes Tom Quelch, delegate of the British Socialist Party (see Doc. No. 104).

The entries emphasise the power of Lenin's teaching and the importance of his achievements for the fate of mankind. Jacques Sadoul writes that "Lenin has brought about in the political sphere an even more powerful revolution than that which took place in industry as a result of the invention of the steam engine. His participation in the world proletarian revolution has accelerated the course of history by half a century. He is the most astounding motive force the world has ever known" (see Doc. No. 92).

A man who combined theory and practice, whose brilliant theoretical discoveries were matched by his genius for revolutionary organisation—this is how our Party and the international proletariat saw Lenin, and this view of him is conveyed in an entry by one of the founders of the Communist Party in France, Marcel Cachin. "Both a theoretician and a man of action, Lenin is now the greatest figure in the world working-class movement" (see Doc. No. 99).

The album contains many comments which reveal the deep affection felt for Lenin by people all over the world. The reasons for this affection are excellently summed up by the delegation of French metalworkers and navvies as follows: "Lenin symbolises the Revolution and this explains why even people who know him

only by name love and admire him from the depths of their hearts. . . . For what other reasons do we love Lenin? Because he is a tireless worker, a fearless leader and theoretician and a staunch revolutionary who, regardless of the most tragic events and the most incredible difficulties and despite the most unexpected twists of fate, never loses sight of the goal which he has set and leaves reliable landmarks on the path, often a difficult one, which leads to this goal.

"But we also love him dearly for the rare modesty which can be seen in his writing, speeches, behaviour, in all his actions and his life as a whole" (see Doc. No. 112).

Congress delegates refer to the tremendous good fortune of the Russian proletariat in having Lenin at their head during an age of great revolutionary ferment. The Czech delegate, Antonín Zápotocký, writes: "The Russian proletariat has good cause to be proud of Comrade Lenin and should count itself extremely fortunate to have had Lenin in its midst during this revolutionary age when he was most needed" (see Doc. No. 94).

The entries are imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The French delegates write as follows: "We love Lenin and all the other fathers of the Revolution, both theoreticians and men of action. But we love them as true friends. And in their person we love the Russian people, who know how to love and to think, who know how to struggle and to suffer for noble ideals and for Humanity" (see Doc. No. 112).

Englishmen, Americans, Italians, Dutchmen and the peoples of the oppressed East all speak of their love for Lenin. The Turkish delegate describes him as: "The great thinker and man of action and the workers' greatest friend" (see Doc. No. 93). "The noblest representative of humanity" is how the Indian delegate describes Lenin (see Doc. No. 98). And as if summarising the views of Lenin both as a man and a leader, the delegates Antonio Gruber and M. Levitsky inscribed the following last two entries in the album: "A man great in his simplicity", "Advance the cause

of world revolution, comrade" (see Doc. Nos. 119, 120).

This conviction that the great man was going to lead forward the world revolution echoed the voices of workers the whole world over.

Lenin did everything within his power for the socialist revolution, but his life was to be cut short tragically after another three and a half years.

He died on January 21, 1924. The deep grief of the Soviet people, its Government and its Communist Party was shared by the whole of mankind. Documents expressing the people's mourning and inconsolable grief make up the fourth part entitled *The World in Mourning*. They are from foreign Communist Parties, workers, writers, young people and students, men and women in London and Paris, Rome and Washington, New York and Tokyo, Shanghai and Peking, Warsaw and Buenos Aires, Africa and Australia, the new world and the old, the East and the West.

Letters addressed to Nadezhda Krupskaya, the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and the Council of People's Commissars (the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism alone has letters from almost 40 countries) take stock, as it were, of Lenin's life and activities to further the cause of revolution and the building of the new world, and reveal time and time again the tremendous influence which he had on world history. They also contain a solemn vow to follow in his footsteps along the path to the victory of socialism. On January 22, 1924 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany wrote to the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) as follows: "It is with profound grief that we lower our banners before all that was mortal in Vladimir Ilyich.... In this sad hour we find comfort in the knowledge that Lenin's influence remains with us, that his cause has an unshakeable foundation in Soviet Russia and that throughout the whole world millions of people are following the path which he charted" (see Doc. No. 121). Here we find recollections and reflections from French, English, American, Italian

and Chinese Communists, from working people all over the world. In their expression of grief and sorrow at this irreparable loss the letters refer time and time again to the working people's great love for Lenin.

However bitter their sense of loss the proletariat, his avant-garde, did not give way to despair. They knew that although Lenin was no more his creations, the Communist Party and Soviet Russia, lived on, that his teaching remained as "living guidance for the whole of working mankind", together with his ideals which "had so strengthened the socialist ranks that they will never collapse". These were the words and thoughts of all the Marxist-Leninist parties and of the working class.

The book also includes reminiscences and views about Lenin from writers and politicians in the East and West. Although they share different ideas and convictions they are at one in expressing their profound respect and affection for him. Romain Rolland writes for example: "I did not share the ideas of Lenin.... But... I have the deepest admiration for Lenin. I know of no other more powerful personality in 20th-century Europe.... Never before has mankind produced such a generous ruler of men's minds" (see Doc. No. 163). Jacques Sadoul had these moving words to say about Lenin's services to mankind: "He has bequeathed us two mighty dreadnoughts, built and launched into the social ocean by his own strong hands—Soviet Russia and the Communist International. Finally, he has left a magic compass for the crews of the proletarian revolution, which he himself picked and trained for the war fleet—the perfect compass of Marxist method, firmly set on course" (see Doc. No. 135).

We have now arrived at the last part which is entitled *The Flat in the Kremlin*. These documents provide a kind of testimonial to Lenin and his teaching, and come from the pen of our contemporaries who have had the opportunity of seeing the conditions in which Lenin worked in his Kremlin flat, and recording their impressions in the visitors' book for distin-

guished foreign guests. Here we have comments from representatives of the peoples of Vietnam, Italy, Czechoslovakia, France, the German Democratic Republic, Korea, Finland, India, Burma, England, Greece, Uruguay and Bulgaria.

We have reached the last page and an entry dated August 31, 1960 which seems to define the aim of this book in a nutshell. "Such a great man as Lenin belongs to the whole of mankind." The whole of mankind will eventually attain that kind of life for which Lenin fought and gave his own.

The documents published in this collection are taken from the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (henceforth referred to as C.P.A. I.M.L.), from Lenin's works, from his study and flat in the Kremlin and from various other sources.

The documents are presented in chronological order. For the convenience of readers they have been grouped into the following parts: Part One—The Years of Exile; Part Two—Sons of the Revolution; Part Three—Comrades-in-Arms; Part Four—The World in Mourning; Part Five—Foreign Friends Reminisce; and Part Six—The Flat in the Kremlin.

For the most part the documents are reproduced in full from the original or a copy. The translation has been based on the original text where this was available, and in all other cases on the Russian edition of the book published in 1966. The words "first publication" indicate that the document in question was published for the first time in the Russian edition.

Lenin's notes on the documents are also reproduced.

U. U. Anikeyev

Part One

THE YEARS OF EXILE

No. 1

From the Editor
of the Japanese Newspaper
Heimin Shimbun

Mr. Ulyanov,
Rue de la Colline,
Geneva, Switzerland

Tokyo, Japan
July 7, 1904

Dear Comrade,

I am pleased to inform you that in response to your request I have dispatched a large number of journals and brochures to the Russian prisoners-of-war in the town of Matsuyama.¹ I think they will get great pleasure from reading this literature and will return home convinced socialists.

I should be glad of any opportunity to do something for you and your comrades from Russia. I look forward to the speedy success of Russian Social-Democracy.

Fraternally yours,
Editor "*Heimin Shimbun*"²

Molodoi Kommunist No. 4, 1963

¹ This refers to the distribution of Social-Democrat literature to Russian prisoners-of-war in Japan during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

² The *Heimin Shimbun* (People's Newspaper) was a Japanese weekly newspaper published in Tokyo by the Heimin Society of Japanese socialists from November 1903 to January 1905. Sen Katayama, D. Kotoku and others assisted in the publication of the paper. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 the *Heimin Shimbun* bitterly attacked militarism and chauvinism, kept the Japanese workers informed of the revolutionary events taking place in Russia and the struggle of the Russian proletariat, distributed Marxist literature in Japan and maintained contact with Social-Democrats abroad. It was forced to close down as a result of repressive measures taken by the Japanese Government.

No. 2

From the French
Social-Democrats

Mr. Ulyanov,
"Uperyod" newspaper,¹

3 Rue de la Colline,
Geneva, Switzerland

99 Rue de la Verrerie,
Paris, January 30, 1905

Comrades,

A few comrades and I have managed to collect 22 francs 25 centimes² which I am sending you to use as you think fit. Together with you we lament the stupidity of the army which cannot recognise its friends.³

Revolutionary greetings to you, comrades,

Emile Demolin

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French
original

First publication

¹ *Uperyod* (Forward)—an illegal Bolshevik weekly newspaper published in Geneva from December 22, 1904 to May 5, 1905. In all eighteen issues appeared. The editorial board included V. I. Lenin, V. V. Vorovsky, M. S. Olmsky and others. The paper soon became popular with local Party committees (including the Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.) who acknowledged it as their Party organ.

² This refers to the raising of funds for the victims of the shooting on January 9, 1905, organised by Social-Democrats outside Russia.

³ The event in question was the shooting by the tsar's troops on a peaceful procession of workers to see the tsar, which took place on January 9, 1905 in St. Petersburg.

No. 3

From Italy

Mr. Ul. Ulyanov,

Geneva

Torino, May 4, 1905

Dear Comrade,

I am delighted to be sending you the third subscription list (No. 154).

This money has been donated by two local societies of freemasons to the revolutionary movement in Russia.

I should be glad if you would send me a receipt in French and a copy of the issue of *Uperyod* in which mention is made of this donation.¹

Fraternally yours,

p.p. *Dario Segre D. Dbos*

"170 francs"²
"Replied 12/5"

Lenin Miscellany XVI

¹ Issue No. 17 of *Uperyod* for May 9 (April 26, Old Style) contains the following note: "The Editorial Board of *Uperyod* has received 170 francs from our Italian comrades on subscription list No. 154".

² Notes made by Lenin.

No. 4

From the Secretary of the
International Socialist
Bureau of the Second
International, C. Huysmans¹

Brussels, October 31, 1912

Dear Citizen Ulyanov,

At its last meeting (28-29 October) the Bureau² decided to convene, before January 1, 1913, an Extraordinary Congress of all affiliated parties for the purpose of debating a point of great interest at this time, when Europe is faced with the menace of a general conflagration: *THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND CO-ORDINATED ACTION TO PREVENT WAR.*

This Congress will be held in Basle (Switzerland) during the month of December.

¹ Camille Huysmans (b. 1871), one of the oldest figures in the Belgian working-class movement. Member of the Belgian Social-Democratic Party. Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International from 1904 to 1919. During the First World War he occupied a Centrist position and attempted to re-establish the Second International. Since 1910 he has been a member of the Belgian Parliament and has frequently held posts in the government. In recent years he has advocated the establishment of contact between the socialist parties and the C.P.S.U. and the re-establishment of the unity of the international working-class movement.

² The International Socialist Bureau of the Second International.

The question of the date has not yet been decided. We trust that if your party decides to send delegates you will let us know as quickly as possible which date is most convenient for you.

With fraternal greetings,

Camille Huysmans

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French
original

First publication

No. 5

*U. Ulyanov,
47 ulica Lubomirskiego,
Cracow*

Brussels, November 9, 1912

Dear Citizen,

We have the honour to inform you that international demonstrations against the extension of the war¹ will be held in all the large cities of Europe on November 17.

We also inform you that the Extraordinary Congress in Basle will take place on November 24, 25 and 26.²

It would, therefore, be as well for you to take steps now to appoint your delegates.³

Fraternally yours,
Camille Huysmans

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French original

First publication

¹ This refers to demonstrations against the Balkan War (October 1912-May 1913).

² The Extraordinary Congress of the Socialist International took place in Basle on November 24-25 (11-12, Old Style), 1912. The Congress was called to discuss measures to combat the growing danger of an imperialist world war.

³ The R.S.D.L.P.'s representatives at the Basle Congress included L. B. Kamenev, A. A. Troyanovsky and G. L. Shklovsky.

No. 6

*Lenin
47 ulica Lubomirskiego,
Cracow*

*Brussels, November 14,
1912*

Dear Citizen,

Who is the Russian representative on the Special Commission for drafting the Basle resolution?¹ Reply awaited urgently. Kindly inform your delegate that the Commission will meet on Saturday, November 23 at 10.00 a.m. in the Burgvogteihalle.

Fraternally yours,
Camille Huysmans

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French original

First publication

¹ The Commission of the Extraordinary Congress in Basle of the Second International, which drew up the manifesto against the threat of war. The manifesto was adopted unanimously. The commission was composed of one representative each from France, Germany, England and Russia. It was agreed between the R.S.D.L.P. and the International Socialist Bureau that Russia should be represented by I. A. Rubanovich.

No. 7

Vladimir Ulyanov,
47, ulica Lubomirskiego,
Cracow

Brussels, June 12, 1913

Dear Citizen,

We are intending to publish a special bulletin¹ concerning all the draft laws presented by socialists in their various parliaments.

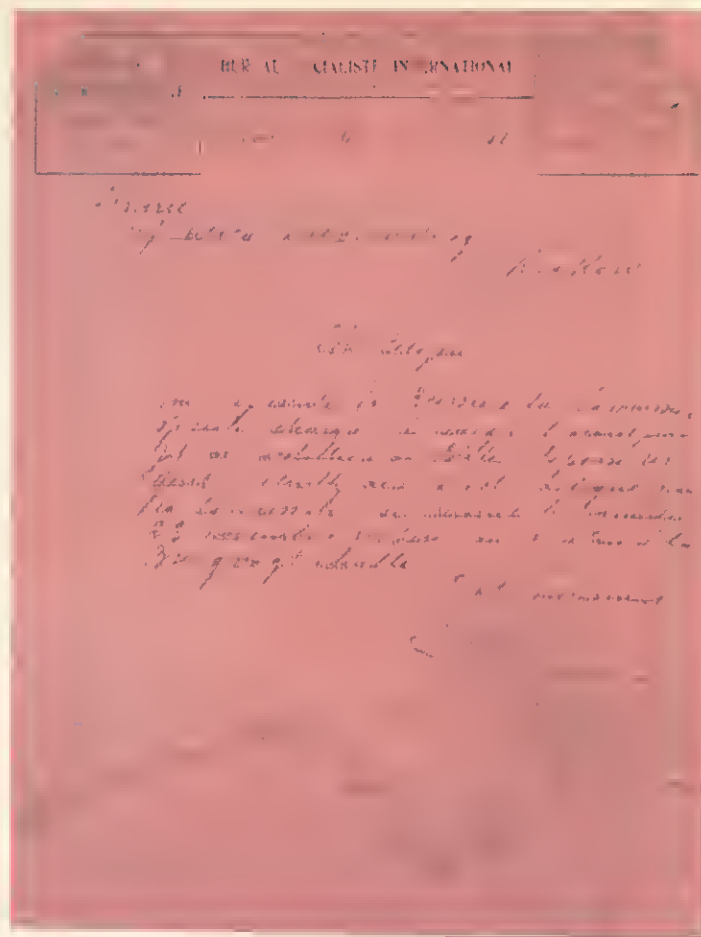
Will you kindly send us *as a matter of urgency* the text of all such drafts presented to the Russian Dumas, with a summary in French as we have done for Belgium (Bulletin 10, pages 57 to 62).

In addition we should like to have the text of interpellations addressed by socialists to the various Dumas.

Fraternally,

Camille Huysmans

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French
original
First publication



Camille Huysmans's letter to Lenin
of November 14, 1912

¹ The Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau.

No. 8

**From the Boston School
of Political Economy**

Parti Ouvrier Socialdemocrate de Russie:
Uladimir Oulianoff,
Secretary Socialist Party,¹

Cracow

*468 Massachusetts Avenue,
Boston, Mass., U.S.A.,
May 2, 1913*

Dear Sir,

Will you kindly favor us with a copy of the platform and principles of your party. The Bureau Socialiste Internationale informed us that it has only one copy of your party platform on file and therefore suggested that we write to you directly. We are indebted to Secretary Camille Huysmans for your name and address.

We will willingly pay you for your trouble upon receipt of price.

Thanking you in advance for this courtesy, we remain,

Very respectfully yours,
Edwin A. Daly

*Assistant Secretary Boston School
of Political Economy*

"Sent 15/5 1913"²

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Original

First publication

¹ As in original.

² Note made by Lenin.

No. 9

From the Editorial Board
of the Newspaper
*Appeal to Reason*¹

U. Ulyanov,
47 ulica Lubomirskiego,
Crakow

Girard, Kansas
December 1, 1918

Dear Comrade,

16 two page leaflets and 8 thirty two page pamphlets comprise our list of publications to date, although we have several more in course of publication.

We gladly send you these by parcel post, the amount of which is so small we will make no note of it.

If we can do anything to contribute to the cause in Austria we are only too glad to do it.

Socialism is now growing very rapidly in the United States and especially in the western portion. We have already captured a great many cities and fully expect to send a lot of representatives to your congress next year.²

Most fraternally yours,
Fred D. Warren

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original
First publication

¹ *Appeal to Reason* was an American socialist newspaper founded in 1895 in the town of Girard, Kansas. Not officially connected with the Socialist Party of America, the paper sought to disseminate socialist ideas and was extremely popular with the working class.

² The Congress of the Second International was to be convened in August 1914.

No. 10

From a Workmen's Circle
in New York

Mr. W. Ulianow,
Secy. Social-Democratic Group,
Cracow

175 E. Broadway, New York,
March 30, 1914

Dear Friend & Comrade,

Enclosed you will please find a draft for the sum of 1437 Kronen and 90 Heller, (\$ 292.61), which is a contribution from the Workmen's Circle to the Russian Social-Democratic Party (Bolshevik), out of its revolutionary fund collected during the years of revolution in Russia. A similar sum was sent to the other section of the Russian Social-Democratic Party (Menshevik), through Mr. P. Axelrod.

Trusting that this money will be used to the greatest advantage of the interests of your Party, I remain,

Yours, for the Revolutionary Cause,
William Edlin
General Secretary

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original
First publication

No. 11

Letters from D. Wijnkoop¹

Mr. V. Ulyanov,
11 Distelweg,
Bern, Switzerland

Pretoriusplein 3,
Amsterdam, Holland
February 3, 1915

Dear Comrade,

I should like to ask you whether in your opinion it might be desirable for us, the Dutch revolutionary Social-Democrats (S.D.P.)² to take the initiative in organising something on an international scale to help the five arrested members of the Duma.³ If this is desirable in your opinion, perhaps you would let me have *your views* as to what should best be done.

Fraternally yours,
Wijnkoop

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

First publication

¹ David Wijnkoop (1877-1941)—a Left-wing Dutch Social-Democrat, later a Communist. Together with a Left-wing group he founded the newspaper *De Tribune*, the organ of the Left-wing of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland, and was its chief editor until 1925. During the First World War he was an internationalist and worked on the journal *Voorbode*, the theoretical organ of the Zimmerwald Left. Wijnkoop played an active part in changing the Social-Democratic Party into a Communist Party in 1918, and in 1919 it joined the Comintern. As one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Holland he occupied an extreme Left, sectarian position.

² Social-Democratic Party.

³ The Bolshevik deputies to the IV State Duma who were arrested in November 1914 and put on trial by the tsarist government.

No. 12

Mr. V. Ulyanov,
66 Waldheimstrasse,
Bern, Switzerland

Pretoriusplein 3,
Amsterdam, Holland
May 27, 1915

Dear Comrade,

As you no doubt already know I have forwarded your letter to Gorter¹ on to him. However, I should like to ask your opinion about the renewed plans for an international conference of the Social-Democratic groups² who really want to *do* something against the war, which I have read the Italian party is proposing to convene. In my opinion this can be of little importance at the present time, and, moreover, Switzerland is perhaps the last place to hold it in. These views are entirely personal, however, and I should very much like to know your opinion. How are Radek and the others? I keep meaning to write to Inessa.³ Please give my regards to her and Radek. You probably know that the Dutch courts have honoured me

¹ Herman Gorter (1864-1927)—a Left-wing Dutch Social-Democrat, later a Communist. One of the organisers of the newspaper *De Tribune*, the organ of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland. During the First World War he was an internationalist and supporter of the Zimmerwald Left. From 1918-1921 he was a member of the Communist Party of Holland and played an active part in the work of the Comintern. He belonged to the extreme Left, sectarian wing of the Comintern. In 1921 he left the Communist Party and ceased to play an active role in politics.

² This refers to the convening of the international conference of socialists in Zimmerwald in September 1915.

³ Inessa Armand (E. F.) (1874-1920)—a member of the Bolshevik Party since 1904, professional revolutionary and active figure in the international working women's and communist movements. Carried out party work in Moscow, St. Petersburg and abroad. During the First World War she played an active part,

with a little trial for referring to your worthy tsar as "the Bloody". Our judiciary have suddenly decided that this cannot be allowed!

Yours,

Wijnkoop

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original
First publication

under Lenin's guidance, in the organisation of the international women's and youth conferences. Took part in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. Was entrusted by Lenin with the task of spreading Bolshevik ideas among the French socialists, young people and trade unionists. Played an important part in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

No. 13

*Pretoriusplein 3,
Amsterdam, July 13, 1915*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

We (Van Ravesteijn¹ and myself—I have not yet had an opportunity of showing your letter to Gorter and Pannekoek,² but am certain that they are in agreement with us) *entirely agree* with your evaluation of the Kautskian policy of pacifism.³ We also agree that you and we should do something as independent parties and as quickly as possible. We must draw up a fundamental, practical programme of revolution, and expose passive radicalism with its deceptive programme of peace.⁴ We cannot afford to wait until a truly

¹ Ravesteijn, Willem van (b. 1876)—Dutch socialist, member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland belonging to its Left wing. One of the founders of the newspaper *De Tribune*. Played a part in the founding of the Communist Party of Holland. Subsequently expelled from the Party for Right-wing deviation in the professional movement and organisational questions.

² Pannekoek, Anton (1873-1960)—Left-wing Dutch Social-Democrat. Together with a group of other Dutch Left-wing Social-Democrats organised the newspaper *De Tribune*. During the First World War was an internationalist and supporter of the Zimmerwald Left. Joined the Comintern when it was set up and adopted an extreme Left, sectarian position. Left the Communist Party in 1921 and shortly afterwards ceased to play an active role in politics.

³ This letter is a reply to Lenin's letter to Wijnkoop in June 1915 concerning the drafting of a joint declaration by the Left for a forthcoming international conference. At the same time Lenin warned socialists of the danger of the popular revolutionary unrest, which had been sparked off by the war, being exploited by the Right-wing Social-Democrats with their false campaign for peace, and expressed his doubt as to whether the German Left could thwart the manoeuvres of the "passive" radicals (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 49).

⁴ This refers to the drafting of a joint declaration by Left-wing socialists for the international socialists' conference which was held from September 5 to 8, 1915 in Zimmerwald, Switzerland.

revolutionary German Left is strong enough to help us with this. We must go on ahead and I am of the opinion, as you are too of course, that this is the only way to clear up as quickly as possible the confusion in the German camp and, if we manage to do so, to make a clear distinction between the active revolutionaries on the one hand and the consistent or half-hearted nationalists on the other, both in Germany and elsewhere. . . . We must fight as revolutionaries against the war and capitalism with *all* the means at our disposal, and if this is taken up seriously by the workers it will inevitably lead to civil war, i.e., a class struggle which we naturally prefer to war between nations. At our last Congress (held at the end of June in Utrecht) we also approved a resolution to this effect, but this must be approved at an international level. I shall be sending you a copy of this resolution and of Gorter's programme as set out in his brochure, in translation. We are of the opinion that this programme *can* serve as the basis on which you *could* draw up a declaration acceptable both to you and to us. Like you we also want to take active revolutionary measures and stir up the proletariat to take revolutionary action against the war and capitalism; but we do not consider that we have the right to insist on our point of view. Therefore, Comrade Lenin, we would suggest that after you have looked through our resolution and Gorter's programme you *should* draw up a declaration. You will then forward the declaration to us and we will inform you officially in the name of our party whether we agree with its terms, or whether it contains any points to which we object. Do you not agree that this is the most practical course of action? Another point—we suggest that you also send this draft declaration direct to other revolutionary socialist groups or persons who share our views. This, by the way, is not a *conditio sine* of course. We have in mind possibly Merrheim⁵,

⁵ Merrheim, Alphonse (1881-1925)—French trade union leader and syndicalist. In 1905 became one of the leaders of the Federation of Metalworkers and of the General Confederation of Labour.

Monatte or Nicot in France, *Lichtstrahlen*⁶ or Berten (Rheinland—Westfalen) in Germany, Radek for Poland, perhaps Rothstein⁷ for England, possibly (but you know better than I) Lazzari⁸ for Italy, perhaps Höglund⁹ for Scandinavia, and a Serb for the Balkans. I trust you understand what I have in mind.

I reason as follows: should it prove to be necessary we can and will unite as two independent parties, but it would be better if we were to have direct support

At the beginning of the First World War he denounced social-chauvinism and imperialist war. Took part in the Zimmerwald Conference and joined the Zimmerwald Right wing. In 1916 switched to a Centrist-pacifist position and at the beginning of 1918 went over to open support of chauvinism and reformism.

⁶ *Lichtstrahlen* (Beams of Light)—monthly journal and organ of the Left-wing German Social-Democrats. The first issue appeared in October 1914 in Berlin. Several more issues were published during the First World War.

⁷ Rothstein, Theodore (1871-1953)—took part in the Russian revolutionary movement in the 1890s and was forced to emigrate abroad. Settled in England and joined the Social-Democratic Federation. In 1901 joined the R.S.D.L.P. and worked on Russian and other socialist publications. Supported the Centrist position for a while during the First World War. From 1918-1920 was one of the leaders of the mass "Hands Off Russia" movement in England. Took part in the founding of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Returned to Russia in 1920. Worked in the diplomatic service from 1921 to 1923 when he became a member of the Main Editorial Board of the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (*The Big Soviet Encyclopaedia*).

⁸ Lazzari, Constantino (1857-1927)—member of the Left wing of the Italian Socialist Party. During the First World War moved over to the Centre and advocated the policy of no sabotage and no collaboration in relation to the war. Supported affiliation to the Comintern after the war. Took part in the work of the 2nd and 3rd congresses of the Comintern. Left the reformists in 1922, but did not manage to break with them completely.

⁹ Höglund, Carl Zeth Konstantin (1884-1956)—Swedish Social-Democrat and leader of the Left wing of the Social-Democrats and the young socialist movement in Sweden. During the First World War he was an internationalist and supported the Zimmerwald Left at the Zimmerwald Conference. In 1916 was taken to court for disseminating anti-war propaganda. One of the leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden. Expelled from the Communist Party in 1924 for opportunism and open opposition to the decisions of the 5th Congress of the Comintern.

from this or that other group. In return for this we will not be required to make any important sacrifices of our principles or programme, but will give any proposed amendments favourable consideration. Therefore, if you are in agreement with my reply to your question, send me the draft declaration. And we will reply very quickly. At the same time, forward the draft declaration to some or all of the groups above-mentioned.

To conclude, we will probably be in a position to send one or more representatives to a future conference. If this should prove impossible financially we would let you know immediately. Looking forward to receiving your quick reply and draft declaration,

With best wishes, Yours,
Wijnkoop

I will show your letter to Gorter and Pannekoek. I shall also inform our committee of the matter.

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original
First publication

Amsterdam, 13 Juli 1915
Pretoriusplein 3

Woter Genosse Lenin!

In Ihrer Bewertung der ^{Kautsky'schen} Dämpfung, politisch stimmen wir (Van Ravestein und ich; ich hatte noch keine Gelegenheit Ihr Schreiben, auch an Gorter und Pannekoek zu zeigen, aber bin überzeugt dass auch sie mit uns übereinstimmen) völlig mit Ihnen ein. Auch sind wir hierin einig, dass wir - sie und wir - als selbständige Parteien stehen müssen, und zwar so bald wie möglich. Wir müssen ein prinzipielles und praktisches Revolutionsprogramm formulieren, und den

David Wijnkoop's letter to Lenin
of July 13, 1915

No. 14

Mr. U. Ulyanov,

Hotel Mariental in Sörenberg,
Canton of Lucerne, Switzerland

Pretoriusplein 3,
Amsterdam, Holland
July 27, 1915

Dear Comrade,

I have received your draft.¹ It will be discussed by us on Saturday evening, and I will send you our reply immediately. I shall then be in a position to tell you whether any of us are coming. I will write immediately to Ch. Kerr² and inform you of the result.

Yours,

Wijnkoop

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the German
original

First publication

¹ Wijnkoop is referring to the draft resolution of the Zimmerwald Left drawn up by Lenin for the international socialists' conference held in Zimmerwald (Switzerland) from September 5-8, 1915. At the conference Lenin organised the Left wing, or Zimmerwald Left, in which the only group with a consistent programme were the Bolsheviks.

² Kerr, Charles—an American publisher of socialist literature. A. M. Kollontai negotiated with him concerning the publication of Lenin's book *Socialism and War* in English and of *International Leaflets* No 1.

Pretoriusplein 3,
Amsterdam, Holland
August 6, 1915

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I was not in a position to inform you earlier of the meeting of our party committee¹ due to the burden of agitation work, editorial and organisational duties. However, I am now able in the name of our party committee to send you the following official reply to the letter from the Central Committee of your Party dated July 15² and to the draft declaration of July 22³.

We are not able to come to Bern⁴ on August 7, and it is doubtful whether we shall be able to come to Switzerland at all in the next few months. I say doubtful, because this is by no means certain. We should, therefore, be most grateful if you would let us know if and when a conference is to take place. If it should be *possible* and absolutely *essential*, one or more of us will make every effort to come. . . .

In any case we charge you—if you would be kind enough to do so in our name—to inform any new preliminary conference that our party, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland, is in agreement with these proposals and regards them as a *minimum* for the calling of a new conference. Our party committee earnestly begs you to inform any such preliminary conference that your party (like ours) will attend no con-

¹ The party committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland.

² Lenin's letter to Wijnkoop (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 49).

³ The draft declaration of Left-wing Social-Democrats for the forthcoming international socialists' conference in Zimmerwald.

⁴ It was planned to hold a meeting on August 7 in Bern of the second preliminary conference to prepare for the international socialists' conference. This meeting did not take place.

ference which does not accept this minimum as a basis for its convocation. This has the great advantage of making it impossible for anyone to assert that this is a conference of the revolutionary section of the International. If your party does not take part and declares so openly (in our name as well) it cannot be a revolutionary conference at all. . . .

As far as the declaration of protest is concerned, however, or any declaration of the revolutionary, anti-nationalistic section of the International, we should prefer to discuss this with you first. We are unreservedly anti-nationalistic and could never agree that Social-Democracy should defend the nationalist state against anyone whatsoever. Nor do we think that you would want this either. But this point must be the basis of our joint manifesto.

We are in complete agreement with your views about Mme Roland-Holst.⁵ Pannekoek is writing personally on this point and on others as well.

In conclusion I should like to add the following. We are prepared to come to an understanding with the Belgians and Scandinavians, and, if possible, with some of the Germans, English and Americans. But we are of the opinion that at the present time, when it is particularly difficult to reach agreement from an international point of view, it would be more valuable for a group of the International to take the sort of action we have in mind, than for us to produce a manifesto at this stage. If a manifesto should prove to be essential, however, we would readily take part in drawing it up after thorough preparation.

With best wishes, Yours,
Wijnkoop

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original
First publication

⁵ In a letter to Wijnkoop in July 1915 Lenin criticises the Centrist position of Roland-Holst (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 49).

No. 16

Letter from Dimitr Blagoev¹

Sofia, August 15, 1915

Dear Comrade,

I have received Zinoviev's letter with your comments on it. Kautsky's reply to Plekhanov² was published in our journal *Novo Vreme*³. You have been sent a copy of all the issues, but evidently the one containing Kautsky's reply did not reach you; I am now sending you another copy of this issue.

With regard to the Bulgarian "opportunists" and self-styled "broad socialists",⁴ this is the subject of an

¹ Blagoev, Dimitr (1856-1924)—eminent figure in the revolutionary movements in Bulgaria and Russia. In 1883-1884 he organised one of the first Social-Democratic groups in Russia, which established contact with the Emancipation of Labour group. Under his guidance the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party was founded in 1891, which led the struggle of the revolutionary wing culminating in the formation of a party of "tesnyaki". During the First World War he played an active part in exposing the predatory nature of the war and the treacherous role of the social-chauvinists of the Second International. Fiercely opposed the entry of Bulgaria into the war. Warmly acclaimed the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Helped to transform the party of "tesnyaki" into the Communist Party.

² This refers to an article by K. Kautsky written in reply to Plekhanov's letter to the Bulgarian social-chauvinist, Zakhari Petrov, in which Plekhanov called on the Bulgarian socialists to support the Russian tsarist government in the war against Germany. Kautsky's article was published in the issue of the journal *Novo Vreme* for July 1, 1915 under the title of "Kautsky on Plekhanov".

³ *Novo Vreme* (New Times) was the central theoretical organ of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party and later of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. It was first published in 1897 and exists up to the present day.

⁴ "Broad socialists" was the term adopted in Bulgaria for the opportunists who maintained that the motive force of history was not the class struggle but co-operation between the classes.

article which I am working on at present. They have not published any brochures about war, but did print several communiqués and manifestos jointly with the other Bulgarian russophile bourgeois opposition. These are quoted in my article.

We were interested to learn from Zinoviev about the "preliminary conference of Left-wing Social-Democrats".⁵ We also received his draft protest against the composition of this conference, but unfortunately it arrived too late. By the time we had received Zinoviev's correspondence the conference had probably taken place and it was impossible to do anything about it.

What is more, after the 2nd Balkan Conference of Social-Democrats in Bucharest,⁶ which took place on July 5 (18) last we had to communicate with the other Balkan Social-Democratic parties as well. I imagine that you will already have received the resolutions of this conference and will know that the Balkan Social-Democratic parties are acting as one Party, since they are a single Balkan Social-Democratic federation with an inter-Balkan bureau, the executive committee of which holds its meetings in Bucharest.

Kindly tell Zinoviev that I did not receive his postcard until yesterday, that is, much later than his let-

They advocated "broad co-operation" between all the "producer" classes, which meant nothing more or less than turning the party of the proletariat into one of the petty bourgeoisie. They posed as true "broad" and "profound" Marxists.

⁵ The preliminary conference of Left-wing Social-Democrats, internationalists, which took place on July 11, 1915 in Bern and at which the question of holding the Zimmerwald Conference was discussed.

⁶ The 2nd Balkan Social-Democratic Conference, held from July 6-8, 1915 in Bucharest, announced the setting up of a Balkan Social-Democratic federation composed of the revolutionary Social-Democratic organisations of Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania and Greece. The conference was an important step towards rallying the revolutionary internationalists. It was united in declaring the need for restoring the International based on the principles of revolutionary socialism and proletarian internationalism, and waging a merciless war against opportunism, social-imperialism and all deviationist tendencies within the International.

ters. I immediately instructed the party administration to post off to you, at the address given, a complete set of all the war-time issues of our journal. I should be most grateful if you would send the *Sotsial-Demokrat*⁷ and *Kommunist*⁸ to the editorial board of our journal *Novo Vreme*. I must apologise for not having been able to send you the article for the first issue. Party business made it impossible for me to keep my promise.

Very best wishes to you
and all the other comrades,

D. Blagoev

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the Russian
original

First publication

⁷ The *Sotsial-Demokrat* was an illegal newspaper and the central organ of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., which appeared between February 1908 and January 1917.

⁸ The journal *Kommunist* was founded by Lenin. It was published by the editorial board of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* together with G. Pyatakov, Y. Bosh and others. Lenin intended making it the organ of the Left wing of the Social-Democrats, but publication was stopped as a result of disagreement between the editorial board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* and the other editors. Only one (double) issue of the journal appeared (No. 1-2, 1915).

No. 17

From D. Wijnkoop

*Pretoriusplein 3,
Amsterdam, Holland,
September 28, 1915*

Dear Comrade,

Frankly we find it difficult to understand how you and the Central Committee could have signed the Zimmerwald manifesto.¹ It contains practically nothing that it should, and has a whole lot of old stuff that means nothing at all. It commits the signatories to nothing whatsoever, just as our good friend Ledebour,² whose signature heads it, does not commit himself to anything—not even to Liebknecht's³ act. We would never have voted for anything like this—our principles would not have permitted us to do so. If this manifesto should be the basis for any action we will, of course, be ready to take part. It is, however, most unlikely that anything revolutionary will come of it. It does nothing more than hold together the older, staid members. We are fully aware that this manifesto means

¹ This refers to the manifesto adopted by the Zimmerwald Conference on September 6, 1915. The manifesto reflected the lack of decision, the vacillation and struggle among the Social-Democrats of the various countries. In spite of this, however, Lenin regarded it as a step forward towards uniting Left-wing Social-Democrats on an international level.

² Ledebour, Georg (1850-1947)—German Social-Democrat. An internationalist during the First World War and signatory of the Zimmerwald manifesto, but a convinced opponent of the Zimmerwald Left.

³ Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)—outstanding figure in the German and international working-class movements. During the First World War a Left-wing Social-Democrat and internationalist who voted against war credits in the Reichstag. One of the leaders of the Spartacus League and a founder of the Communist Party of Germany.

something, something daring for Merrheim and Bourderon.⁴ For the others, however, it is either pointless or downright bad.

We should be glad to have your views on the matter. Perhaps you will be kind enough to write to us.

Yours with a comradely greeting,
Wijnkoop

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

First publication

⁴ Bourderon, Albert—a French socialist, one of the leaders of the Left wing in the syndicalist movement and secretary of the coopers' syndicate. Took part in the Zimmerwald Conference at which he adopted a Centrist position. Later broke away from the Zimmerwald group and became an opponent of the revolutionary movement.

No. 18

From Fritz Platten¹

Zurich, November 14, 1916

Dear Comrade,

You are hereby invited to attend a meeting² to be held on *Monday*, November 20 at 8.30 p.m. in the *Eintracht*. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss political events and future party activity.

Invitations have also been sent to Comrades Nobs,³

¹ Platten, Friedrich (Fritz) (1883-1942)—Swiss Left-wing Social-Democrat and Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party. During the First World War was an internationalist and member of the Zimmerwald Left. Took part in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. One of the organisers of Lenin's return to Russia from Switzerland via Germany. One of the founders of the Communist Party of Switzerland. In 1919 he took part in the setting up of the Communist International. From 1923 onwards he lived in the Soviet Union and engaged in teaching activities.

² This refers to a meeting of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party.

³ Nobs, Ernst (1886-1957)—Swiss Social-Democrat and editor of the Left-wing socialist newspaper *Volksrecht*. During the First World War he was a vacillating internationalist. In 1917 he adopted a Centrist-pacifist position. In the twenties he went over to the Right wing of the Social-Democrats and opposed the communist movement. Became President of Switzerland in 1949.

Münzenberg,¹ Dr. Schmid, Lenin, Barthel, Mimiola,² Charitonoff³ and Bronski.⁴

With a comradely greeting,
Fritz Platten

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

First publication

¹ Münzenberg, Wilhelm (1889-1940)—active figure in the working-class movement in Switzerland and Germany. Leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Youth Organisation and editor of its organ *Freie Jugend* from 1914-1917. From 1915-1919 Secretary of the Socialist Youth International. Member of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party from 1916. On his return to Germany he became a member of the German Communist Party. From 1919-1921 he was Secretary of the Communist Youth International. General secretary of *ad hoc* Foreign Committee for Assistance to Russia. Expelled from the German Communist Party in 1939 for serious political errors.

² Mimiola, Julius (1889-1959)—member of the Social-Democratic movement in Switzerland. During the First World War joined the International Socialist Bureau of the Youth International. Towards the end of his life he was a member of the Communist Party of Switzerland and later of the Swiss Party of Labour.

³ Kharitonov, M. M. (Boris) (1887-1948)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. In emigration worked in the Zurich section of the Bolsheviks and attended the Bern conference of foreign sections in 1915. In 1925 he joined the Trotskyite opposition for which he was expelled from the Party. In 1928 he was readmitted to the Party and worked in the Central Control Committee of the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and later in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

⁴ Bronski, Mieczyslaw (1882-1941)—Polish Social-Democrat and member of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, Bolshevik. In 1907 he emigrated to Switzerland where he played an active role in the Swiss Social-Democratic movement. Represented the Polish Social-Democrats at the Kienthal Conference. In June 1917 began propaganda work for the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B). After the October Revolution he was made Deputy People's Commissar of Trade and Industry. Appointed plenipotentiary and trade representative to Austria in 1920. In 1924 he took up government work and was active in the field of education.

No. 19

From Henri Guilbeaux¹

Geneva, April 3, 1917

Dear Comrade,

You will appreciate the interest with which I follow the revolutionary movement in Russia. I have read with great pleasure the extracts from your interesting conference² which were published in the *Volksrecht*³. I understand that you are shortly to leave Switzerland in order to take an active part in the struggle in your country. Allow me to express the sympathy which I have for you personally and for the party which

¹ Guilbeaux, Henri (1885-1938)—French socialist and journalist. During the First World War he became closely associated with the Zimmerwald Left, attended the Kienthal Conference and represented the Zimmerwald Left wing of the French socialist movement at the 1st Congress of the Comintern. At the beginning of the twenties he went to live in Germany and became correspondent of *L'Humanité*. He subsequently adopted a Trotskyite position and a hostile attitude towards the U.S.S.R.

² This refers to a report entitled "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Russian Revolution" presented by Lenin at a meeting of Swiss workers in the *Volkshaus* in Zurich. A short resumé was published in the Zurich newspaper *Volksrecht* on March 31 and April 2, 1917.

³ *Volksrecht* (People's Right), organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, founded in 1898 and still in existence. During the First World War the newspaper published articles by Left-wing Social-Democrats. Lenin's articles "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Russian Revolution", "Tricks of the Republican Chauvinists" and others appeared in it.

you represent, and to tell you how much I admire your internationalism and radicalism, as well as your learning....

Please accept my very best wishes and cordial handshake.

Henri Guilbeaux

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the French
original

First publication

Part Two

SONS
OF THE
REVOLUTION

No. 20

**Report in PRAVDA on the
Reception of a Delegation
of Belgian Workers
in the Smolny by Lenin**

November 7, 1917

A delegation of Belgian workers employed as reservists at the Sestroretsky and other factories in Petrograd arrived in the Smolny on November 5. In all, they number 300.¹ The delegation asked Lenin to tell the Russian proletariat that the Belgian workers were with them heart and soul in the struggle for peace and socialism. The number of supporters among the Belgian working class was growing each day. The French newspapers published in Petrograd, *L'Entente* and *Le Journal de Petrograd*² reflected the interests not of the workers, but of the bourgeoisie, which was uniting in all countries for the struggle against its class enemy—the international proletariat. The Belgian workers were ready to give full support to the new workers' and peasants' government, because its programme is that of the whole international proletariat.

Pravda, November 7, 1917

¹ The delegation, led by the worker Lebrun, was received by Lenin with Y. M. Sverdlov also present.

² *L'Entente* and *Le Journal de Petrograd* were semi-official organs of the tsarist and later the Provisional Government. Their publication was stopped shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

No. 21

From the Representative of
the Allied International
Association for the
Information of the Workers'
Press of America,
France and England

November 1917 before
the 10th (23rd)

"Answered 10. 11. 17"¹

Citizen Lenin,

I hereby give in writing my personal, formal and definite guarantee that through the agency of our Association I will inform the *whole* of the workers' press, i.e., including those organs of the workers' press with internationalist tendencies, to which I will give priority.

I likewise guarantee that your replies will be reproduced *without the slightest change* and that if the censors in the allied countries want to cut anything out we will refuse to publish the interviews which you are kind enough to give me.

In Petrograd I am constantly at your disposal and consider myself to possess full authority. Other authorised persons are citizen T. Daniel, 54 Rue Bassano in Paris, citizen Couché, New-Street B. 23 in Washington, and E. Walford, Hotel des Etats-Unis in London.

N. Coué²

¹ Note made by Lenin. His replies to Coué's questions have not come to light.

² N. Coué (N. D. Kocha)—Rumanian journalist in Petrograd in the early days of the October Revolution. On behalf of his Association invited Lenin to reply to questions on the foreign and

1) Does the government of people's commissars intend to pursue with the same energy its present domestic policy and international action with regard to peace?

2) What important social reforms is the present government planning to achieve the establishment of a socialist system in Russia?

3) After the calling of a Constituent Assembly, will the government of people's commissars be responsible to the Assembly, as in constitutional states, or not?

4) Do you believe that the peace proposed by Russia will put an end to world militarism?

5) When and how do you propose to begin Russian demobilisation?

6) Do you believe that with the present state in Europe socialism can be fully established?

The Allied International Association for the Information of the Workers' Press of America, France and England.

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the French
original

First full publication

domestic policy of the Soviet Government. In reply Lenin sent Coué a letter containing a number of conditions relating to the publication of his answers. The present letter is Coué's written guarantee of these conditions together with his list of questions (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 50).

No. 22

From Charles Dumas¹

*Hotel de France,
Petrograd
December 20, 1917*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

You will, no doubt, be aware of my presence in Petrograd, since it has been reported in *Izvestia*.

I am burning with impatience to greet you. Permit me to request that the first visit I make to you should be that of the friend to whom you and Madame Lenin gave a warm welcome² at your home in Paris during your exile there, which he has not forgotten.

Please accept my fraternal, socialist greetings, dear Comrade Lenin,

Ch. Dumas

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French
original

First publication

¹ Dumas, Charles—French socialist. During the First World War he adopted a social-chauvinistic position, for which he was strongly criticised by Lenin in his work *The Collapse of the Second International* (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 205).

² Lenin and Krupskaya became acquainted with Dumas in Paris, where they lived from December 1908 to June 10, 1912. Krupskaya describes Dumas' visit to them as follows: "A socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies by the name of Dumas visited us once and told us how he had toured the countryside canvassing for votes..." (see N. K. Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, Moscow, 1959, p. 203).

No. 23

Lenin's Reply
to Charles Dumas

January 3, 1918

Dear Citizen Charles Dumas,

My wife and I remember with great pleasure the time when we made your acquaintance in Paris on rue Beaunier. We are very grateful to you for the exchange of ideas and for the most precise information which you provided us with on the socialist movement in France.

I very much regret that the profound political divergences of opinion which have subsequently divided us make it impossible for us to continue our personal relationship. All through the war I opposed the tendency towards "national defence" in favour of schism in the conviction that this tendency is the absolute ruin of socialism.

It goes without saying that I am writing these lines as a private person and not as a member of the government.

With best wishes, dear citizen, on behalf of my wife and myself,

Lenin

First published in French in *The Times Literary Supplement*
London, No. 2975, March 6, 1959

No. 24

From Herman Gorter

December 23, 1917

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I am taking advantage of the opportunity provided by Comrade Platten's visit to wish you success again (I have already done so once by cable at the beginning of November). You can imagine the excitement with which I am following everything that is happening in your country. I believe that I shall see that which you want and for which you are striving. May your efforts be crowned with success.

My brochure about imperialism,¹ which you also read, has now appeared in a second edition (in German). I am now having a thousand copies of it distributed in Germany (from Holland). I have added an afterword on the European revolution together with a programme of action. I am also hoping to have a small brochure on the same subject printed here in Switzerland and sent gradually in small numbers over the border to Italy, France and Germany. I shall send you a copy of both documents. If I can be of any help to you here in Switzerland, where I am likely to remain for some considerable time, please let me know through Comrade Platten (preferably in a letter).

My address is: Volkshaus, Bern.

Fraternally yours,

Herman Gorter

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the German original

First publication

¹ This refers to Gorter's brochure entitled *Het Imperialisme de Wereldoorlog en de social-democratie* published in Amsterdam at the beginning of 1915. Lenin made various observations, notes and underlinings in it (see *Lenin's Library in the Kremlin. Catalogue*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1961).

No. 25

Letter from American Workers
to the Soviet Government

End of December 1917-
beginning of January 1918¹

... To Nikolai Lenin and the representatives of the Bolshevik government, and through them to the workers of Russia.

Greetings

As colleagues in the struggle for social revolution we, the Industrial Workers of the World,² send you greetings in the conviction that we feel and think the same as the socialists ... as all the revolutionaries and as the broad mass of workers of the United States of America, whose awakening and understanding of the capitalist policy of enslavement and destruction is growing with remarkable rapidity.

¹ Date estimated in accordance with the contents of the document.

² The Industrial Workers of the World was a trade union organisation set up in 1905 by William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Elizabeth Flynn and others. The I.W.W. attacked class collaboration advocated by the leaders of the American Federation of Labour. It aimed at drawing its members from the ranks of unskilled workers regardless of race or nationality. It did not, however, manage to become a mass organisation; in 1908 the leadership was seized by a group of anarcho-syndicalists who rejected political struggle, the leading role of the party and the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In spite of its misconceptions the I.W.W. played an important role in the American labour movement. During the First World War it initiated a number of mass demonstrations against the war and denounced the perfidious activities of the American Federation of Labour and the Right-wing socialists. Several of its leading members, headed by William Haywood, joined the Communist Party of America. On January 27, 1921 the I.W.W. Secretary, Fred Hardy, was received by Lenin.

You, the Russian workers, who have taken control into your own hands and are creating a new social structure, are moulding much more than your own future: you are inspiring and accelerating a revolutionary movement, the like of which has never been seen before.

Workers who had up till then been deaf to all our propaganda now listen to us joyfully since they have seen the dawn of a new day in the Far East. It is no longer ignorance which prevents us moving forward, but the iron heel of violence against which the forces of revolution are rising as surely as they rose against the old regime in Russia.

This communication bears the stamp of the Central Executive Committee of the Seattle branch of the Industrial Workers of the World in the firm conviction on our part that the feelings and hopes expressed in it are those of the whole organisation all over the country. We could not obtain the stamp from our centre in Chicago due to the fact that it is all in the hands of the United States Government officials and the wily internal censorship, and also because (William) D. Haywood¹, the chief secretary-treasurer, and many other officials from our organisation have been imprisoned on charges under federal laws, as a result of the direct instigation of our employers.

¹ Haywood, William (1869-1928)—a leading figure in the American labour movement and miner by profession. Joined the socialist party in 1901 and was one of the leaders of its Left wing. One of the founders and leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World organisation. Haywood was a supporter of strike action and himself organised several extensive strikes in the mining and railway industries. During the First World War he opposed militarism, the imperialist war and the entry of the United States into the war. He welcomed the Great October Revolution. In 1919 he joined the Communist Party of America. Was arrested for his revolutionary activities and sentenced to 25 years in jail—later released on bail seriously ill. Lived in the U.S.S.R. from 1921-1928. Part of his ashes are buried in Red Square and part, in accordance with his wishes, in a grave in Chicago together with members of the American labour movement who were executed after the Chicago trials in 1886.

We should add that this communication will reach you thanks to the kindness of the sailors on the transport *Shilka* to whom we are giving it secretly for delivery to you.

We should like to acquaint you with the state of affairs existing at the present time in "free America". For this reason we have not limited ourselves to sending you a letter, but are also attaching several publications of the radical press containing a detailed account of the various atrocities committed in the name of democracy.¹

The incident on the ship *Verona* in Everett, Washington, on November 5, 1916 during which 5 workers were foully murdered by agents of the wood trust, many more swept off to sea and dozens wounded, gave an enormous impetus to the Industrial Workers of the World movement, and by the time that war was declared the membership of our organisation had advanced well past the hundred thousand mark.

Our programme which aims at the working class taking over all the branches of industry has begun to terrify employers.

Membership of our organisations increased to such an extent that it threatened owner control in the saw-mill industry of the Pacific North-West, in the copper mines of Arizona and Montana and in many agricultural regions in the West.

As soon as the United States officially entered the war on April 6, 1917 a terrorist policy was put into operation against all the well-known radicals and radical organisations, that is, the Industrial Workers of the World, the socialist party, the anarchists and various foreign federations of the socialist revolutionary movement.

Later the impact of this policy was extended to pacifist, Christian and other organisations.

At first terrorist activities were carried out by villainous gangs of employers with the assistance of the local authorities and under their control. Later the

¹ The appendix to the letter has not come to light.

local authorities took the matter into their own hands and it finally passed into the hands of direct representatives of the United States acting through the agency of various district marshalls and suchlike officials.

The Industrial Workers of the World organisation has had to bear the main brunt of the attacks. Its members have been imprisoned by their thousands without any legal warrant, thousands of them have been seized, thrown out of their flats and left to starve in the desert, dozens have been whipped to death by hired assassins, tarred and feathered, and in many cases their murderers have disappeared into thin air. One member of our organisation, a sick man and a cripple, was dragged from his bed in the middle of the night and hung from the railway bridge. The offices of the Industrial Workers of the World have been searched, papers confiscated, premises and equipment either confiscated or destroyed, and members' flats have also been ransacked at the order of officials ranging from local to federal ones, with or without legal cause.

We quote a few examples out of hundreds of cases of victimisation.

During June and July 1917 in Yakima, Cle Elum, Ellensburg and other smaller towns in Washington State hundreds of agricultural workers were thrown into prison for demanding higher pay or for carrying a membership card of the Industrial Workers of the World.

No warrants or charges were issued against these people. In prison they were cut off from all communication with the outside world and detained there for four months, subsequently being released without trial. When they came out all the prisoners were sick and emaciated with hunger. Some of them had been beaten and chained to a concrete floor, while others had nearly been drowned when prison warders flooded their cells with water. In all cases they had received disgraceful treatment.

On June 10, 1917 agents of the copper trust in Bisbee, Arizona, seized control of the telephone and cable offices to prevent communication with the outside

world, and then with the help of Sheriff Viler and a crowd of armed gunmen, detectives and employers arrested about 1,200 miners who were on strike. Many of the latter were separated from their families and deported to the Mojave Desert where they were left without food or shelter. Later the government began to send a negligible amount of food and shanties for a short time, but refused to allow the men to return home. Insult was added to injury: some of the miners were arrested and detained in prison until October, when they were put on trial and found not guilty of the charges brought against them.

It was ascertained that full responsibility for all these disgraceful events lay with the Phelps Dodge Co. Nevertheless in spite of this MacLean, an official of the above-mentioned company, continues to hold an important government post on the co-operative copper committee of the National Defence Council of the United States.

Together with others this copper company has signed a contract with the government for the supply of copper at 23.5 cents per lb. which gives them a clear profit of 10 per cent on each pound of copper being used for military purposes. The Phelps Dodge Co. alone has made a net profit of 21,974,263 dollars which is 300 per cent higher than the usual and notwithstanding high profit of the company in the period preceding the war. Nevertheless the United States Government is not taking or proposing to take any steps against those guilty of the deportation of workers and the many murders which accompanied the disturbances.

On June 16 in Seattle,¹ Washington State, as a result of inflammatory articles in the bourgeois press and capitalist incitement, an attempt was made (by soldiers) at night to raid the offices of the Industrial Workers of the World. They were beaten off by a handful of the organisation's members, with one sol-

¹ Seattle—an American trading port on the North-West coast, was at that time a centre of revolutionary support for Russia.

dier being wounded in the leg when he attempted to enter through the back door. Later that night 41 I.W.W. members were taken from the building and imprisoned without any charge whatsoever being produced against them. Some of them were released after a few days, but the remainder are still in detention without trial and without any charge. There has been no indication that the authorities have taken any action against the soldiers and sailors who fired on the building and attempted to slaughter the workers inside. They have not even been reprimanded.

At approximately the same time raids were carried out in other parts of the country, such as Kansas City, Missouri, which suffered several attacks without the defenders being able to have recourse to the law, in spite of the fact that men, women and children were mercilessly beaten.

On the night of August 1 in Butte in the State of Montana a gang of masked men broke into the apartment of Frank Little, a member of the I.W.W. and, although Little was a cripple and a sick man, seized him and dragged him round the streets tied to the back of a car. They then hanged him on the railway bridge pinning a warning on his dead body to other members of the I.W.W. that a similar fate awaited them. The local authorities and the government have not made the slightest attempt to investigate this crime, in spite of the fact that the Butte miners are ready to produce at least two of the murderers if an investigation were initiated.

All these events simply served to increase the membership of the I.W.W. Soon it had become so strong that it was able to call a strike in the timber-sawing industry on the North-West coast to get an 8-hour working day.

This provided a signal for new attacks, and I.W.W. offices were subjected to a series of raids in many towns in that region. Delegates, secretaries and members of the organisation were imprisoned without warrant. People were beaten and subjected to all forms of abuse, but the solidarity of the workers remained

unbroken. An 8-hour working day is now being worked in all the forests in this region.

On September 5 the United States Government organised a concerted attack on all I.W.W. offices of which it was aware. Every single document, letter, typewriter—in short all I.W.W. property was confiscated and taken first to government offices and later to Chicago. *Solidarity*, the official organ of the I.W.W., was closed down together with many other newspapers of similar views. The newspaper *Industrial Worker* published in Seattle had all its property confiscated, but since its right to make use of the postal services remained untouched it continued to appear as usual.

Later, on September 29, officers of the federal government arrested William D. Haywood, all the members of the executive committee, all known secretaries of district organisations and district executive committees, the editors of Russian, Italian, Polish and other newspapers published in foreign languages, Ralph Chaplin, the editor of *Solidarity*, MacDonald, editor of *Industrial Worker* and many other I.W.W. members. In all 110 were arrested. They were charged with treason for having obstructed government action and contravening the law about military conscription, etc. However even the bourgeois press is admitting that the real reason for the persecution is the revolutionary character of the I.W.W. organisation which aims at destroying the system of hired labour.

The socialist party is also being victimised by the profiteers who conceal their perfidy under the mask of patriotism. But so far there has been only one case of its members receiving the savage treatment which has been applied to members of the I.W.W.

This particular victim was a priest, the socialist Herbert Bychelov who was arrested in Cincinnati, Ohio, and deported to Kentucky where he was subjected to corporal punishment and soaked in oil. Bychelov is a pacifist.

The United States Government took no action to investigate this matter.

On October 17 a band of people dressed in black capes and black masks obtained the consent of the police and judiciary of the town of Tulsa in Oklahoma to take 17 I.W.W. members out of gaol who had been imprisoned without any legal cause. These 17 men were then taken to an isolated small settlement, where they were undressed and beaten with ropes until their bodies were one mass of lacerated flesh. After this they were covered with hot tar mixed with feathers. The "patriots" responsible for this atrocity told their victims that all this had been done "in the name of the suffering women and children of Belgium". One after another the victims of this brutal act were released and chased into the "black hills" by shots from the crowd. News has been received of only four out of the seventeen. People attempting to establish the identity of members of the gang have subsequently been threatened with death.

Local and federal authorities have taken no action to investigate this matter.

That this is not just an isolated incident but systematic government policy may be seen from the fact that the governor of the area, Fred Robinson, a United States Government official, has wiped out the I.W.W. in the oil industry all over Kansas.

His latest achievement was done in the interests of the employers who own the oil businesses in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

On November 12 in the town of Omaha, Nebraska, a meeting was held of the I.W.W. industrial union No. 573. At this meeting nothing was said either for or against the war. Nevertheless the local authorities with federal assistance swooped down on the meeting and arrested 64 delegates. Any person attempting to gain access to them, not excluding their lawyers, was imprisoned. The arrested delegates are still imprisoned without any charge having been brought against them and without a date being fixed for their trial.

A few days ago they were offered release if they would give their word to renounce their convictions and cease their revolutionary activities. Needless to

say, they all rejected this proposal outright. But it is interesting in that it reveals the true reason for the searches and arrests. These are all conducted with the aim of wiping out the I.W.W. and preventing the further organisation of the workers.

In Frisco as in several other parts of California there are many detainees who are shortly to stand trial.

The following is an extract from the charge for which they are to be tried:

"The defendants are charged with plotting to cause harm to and threaten certain United States citizens, if those citizens were to continue to take advantage of certain rights and privileges conferred on them by the Constitution of the United States. This infringement by the defendants is expressed in their demands for a fixed wage and certain standard labour conditions throughout the United States and in the fact that in cases where the employer refused to pay the fixed wage and to provide the required conditions, the defendants did agree among themselves to refuse to work for the employers in question, which in common parlance is called a strike."

Last month in Red Lodge (Montana) the owners of the coal mines had recourse to the following stratagem, among others, in their dispute with Finnish workers over a wage cut.

The Secretary of the I.W.W. union of coal-miners was seized and taken to a municipal meeting where he was strung up and left until he lost consciousness. Then the thugs laid him on the floor until he regained consciousness and the whole procedure was repeated all over again. Finally he was transported out of town. There he was beaten mercilessly and eventually released under the threat of death if he should return. Nothing more has been heard of this man since. Three other workers, Finns, were with him at the time and suffered similar maltreatment.

The people responsible for this heinous offence call themselves the "Knights of Liberty". The above-mentioned gang in Tulsa, Oklahoma, also went under the same name.

All this will show the Russian workers what "freedom" in America really is.

In order to frighten the workers of Red Lodge even more a hired gunman fired into a house and killed an old lady. Her husband went mad with the shock.

Russian workers will, no doubt, be familiar with the details of the Tom Mooney case¹, since it has assumed international significance. This affair is an excellent example of the treachery, duplicity, bribery and corruption of the judiciary and other officials. The worst aspect of the affair is the behaviour of the American Federation of Labour² which was so concerned about maintaining friendly relations with the employers that it gave practically no support whatsoever to the imprisoned victims of the San Francisco brawl.

The American Federation of Labour which calls itself a "labor organisation" is in fact nothing more nor less than an appendage of capitalism.

If the life of Tom Mooney had depended on this country's trade unions alone he would have been hanged

¹ Mooney, Tom (1885-1942)—an active participant in the American labour movement, steel-worker. Joined the Socialist Party in 1907; campaigned for the socialist candidate Eugene Debs in the Presidential elections. Attended the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International in 1910 and later published the socialist newspaper *The Revolt*. In 1916 Mooney and his friend Warren K. Billings were accused of having thrown a bomb during a military parade in San Francisco on July 22. Mooney was sentenced to death. The reaction of progressive world opinion to this provocation forced President Wilson to persuade the Governor of California to change the death sentence to one of life imprisonment. Mooney was released in 1939.

² The American Federation of Labour was a mass working-class organisation founded in 1881 and operating through workshops. It affiliated its members according to their profession. The leadership of the Federation did all it could to prevent Negroes, unskilled workers, women and young workers from being admitted to membership of the trade unions. They maintained contact with leading circles of the bourgeois democratic and republican parties, and pursued a policy of class collaboration with the capitalists, subordinating the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie.

a long time ago. It is to the workers of Russia that Tom Mooney owes his gratitude for the fact that his life was saved. The demonstration by Russians in front of the American Embassy in Petrograd reached the ears of President Wilson, and the death sentence was repealed for fear of international repercussions.

Last week in Ione (Washington) one of the most outstanding figures in the I.W.W., Roy Brahn, was severely beaten up by a hired gang from the timber-sawing trust and put in prison. At that particular time there were no workers in the small towns like Ione, because they had all gone into the big centres for the holiday. It was this that made it possible for the police to carry out the filthy business referred to above.

On December 20, the day before the *Shilka* docked in Seattle, the local police with assistance from the federal authorities raided the editorial offices of the *Industrial Worker* and the local committee for the legal defence of those imprisoned in Chicago jail and also searched the district office of the union of transport seamen. Everything in these buildings was confiscated with the exception of one small office belonging to the *Industrial Worker* which was smashed to pieces. Six people were arrested, including Catherine B. MacDonald, the wife of John A. MacDonald imprisoned in Chicago jail. These people were arrested without warrants and were held in gaol for almost a week without any charge being brought against them. Catherine MacDonald was put in a section for prostitutes many of whom had syphilis and, contrary to all the regulations, was not allowed bail until almost a whole week later.

When the transport ship *Shilka* arrived in Seattle it was arranged that some members of the crew would give a talk at the I.W.W. offices on the evening of Sunday, December 23. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and everything appeared to be going well. On Sunday morning the reactionary capitalist organ *Post Intelligencer* announced that the *Shilka* had about 100,000 dollars on board for the defence of 166 American revolutionaries standing trial. Local employers

immediately joined forces with the federal authorities and this resulted in the *Shilka* being surrounded by a cordon of 50 sailors. A search was subsequently carried out on board.

When the crew attempted to go ashore they were prevented from doing so by the local authorities. One sailor from the *Shilka* who had remained on shore went to the I.W.W. offices and gave a talk there to an audience of about 5,000. He was arrested on leaving the building.

A whole torrent of abuse hailed down on the team of the *Shilka*. The bourgeois newspapers were crammed with all sorts of fantastic stories about the ship being laden with arms and ammunition to start a revolution in the United States with the help of the I.W.W. ... and so on and so forth.

Evidently, however, news was soon received from Washington that the rumours were unfounded, for the whole capitalist press changed its tone considerably and the local capitalists, who hate the Bolsheviks like poison, started inviting the whole crew to banquets and motor trips in an attempt to make up for their earlier behaviour.

Naturally no one was taken in by the capitalist tactics.

Their friendship, just like their democracy, was empty pretence. All the bourgeois press of the United States without exception cannot stand the Bolsheviks. This press calls the Bolsheviks the Industrial Workers of the World of Russia, and the Industrial Workers of the World it calls the American Bolsheviks. This compliment fills us with pride and we hope that the Russian workers share it with us.

The bourgeois press is the echo of the employers' class which is at the present time master in the United States.

Such socialist renegades as Charles Edward Russell¹

¹ Russell, Charles Edward (1860-1941)—American socialist and journalist. One of the editors of the journal *New York American*. Supported the entry of the U.S.A. into the First World War.

and the like are working hand in hand with the capitalists against the Bolsheviks. Luckily they are few in number. However one of them, George Creel, a former hack journalist, is now in charge of a censorship board as a result of which all organs of free thought have been closed down. *Masses*, *The International Socialist Review*, *The New York Call*, *The Milwaukee Leader*, *The Labor Leader of Du'luth*, *The American Socialist*, *The Texas Rebel* and dozens of other newspapers and magazines have either fallen victim to the censor or been compelled to be published illegally.

The newspaper *Seattle Daily Call* was not allowed use of the postal service. But in spite of this its circulation has been increasing daily.

The worst thing is that certain newspapers are bought which are socialist in outward appearance only, such as *Appeal to Reason* and the *Christian Socialist*.

But let the Russian workers not be deceived: such things as freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly do not exist in America, and the democracy which the capitalists like to go on about is nothing but a snare.

In conclusion, the Industrial Workers of the World once more assure the revolutionary socialists of Russia that even the rank and file (the hitherto politically unaware workers in the United States) have great admiration for the Bolsheviks' noble struggle for freedom from the yoke of the capitalists and landowners.

Your struggle is essentially our struggle and your victory—our victory and any defeat which you may suffer will be a blow in the face for us. Rest assured, fellow-workers, that your victory which is paving the way for the foundation of the first true republic of the producers of riches, will not have the whole world against it. The proletariat of the other countries will make a supreme effort to throw off the parasites and set up a similar social order in its land. In this hour the organisation of the Industrial Workers of the World would be deeply indebted to the Bolshevik government if it were to send an official note to the capitalist

government of the United States to force our authorities to give us at least something in the nature of a fair trial in the serious case which is coming up before the courts in Chicago in a few weeks' time.

If such a note from you were to have even the slightest restraining influence on their plans to crush us, this would give us a vital breathing-space which would enable us to gather strength for the final struggle in which, we know, victory will be ours. A single word from you, Russian revolutionaries, means a great deal to us. You will not leave this word unsaid and will not refuse us the help that you are able to give.

Once again we assure you of our firm friendship, solidarity and our desire that in the very near future true democracy and lasting peace will triumph the whole world over.

We remain your comrades in the struggle for social revolution.

The Industrial Workers of the World

English original not available
Translated from the Russian as
published in Vladivostok's *Kras-
noye Znamya* for March 20-21,
1918

No. 26

From Herman Gorter

*Volkshaus, Bern
February 7, 1918*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

Many thanks for your letters. I wrote off to Holland immediately. We have a comrade there who is very well informed on banking and trust matters. Unfortunately his health is not very good.

I also had a look round here and have found comrade Heller, whose address is: Seilergraben 31, Zürich. He is prepared to go and says that he will leave as soon as he has received his travelling expenses and money to settle his affairs here. He needs 1,000 rubles. (The ruble is very low here—I think it fetches about 70 or 80 centimes).

I do not know comrade Heller at all, therefore I cannot take responsibility for his mission. I know nothing about him either negative or positive. Comrade Nobs knows him slightly, and Comrade Balabanova¹ should be acquainted with him.

If you send the money address it to *me* at the Volkshaus, Bern. I will then hand it over to him when he has made all his arrangements and is ready to leave. Should he change his plans I will return it to you immediately.

¹ Balabanova, Angelica (1878-1965)—Social-Democrat who played an active role in the Russian and Italian socialist movements. Joined the Union of Russian Social-Democrats abroad in 1897. Became a Menshevik after the 2nd Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Member of the Socialist Party of Italy and of its Central Committee, as well as one of the editors of the party's central organ, the newspaper *Avanti*. Adopted a Centrist position during the First World War and took part in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. Returned to Russia in 1917, where she joined the Bolshevik Party. Expelled from the R.C.P.(B.) in 1924 for re-adopting a Menshevik position.

As you can imagine, I am following everything that is happening in Russia with the greatest interest and excitement. Germany is beginning to awake. I have very great hopes for England and Germany. . . . The material conditions already exist there and everything depends solely on the people and on spiritual factors. I have just finished a brochure for the revolutionary struggle, intended for these two countries in particular. It will be printed shortly in four languages (French, German, English and Italian) together with a revolutionary programme and commentary. This programme differs from the Russian one to some extent, of course, because it is intended for countries with a highly developed industry. Particularly on the question of agriculture.

As you know, I also have slightly different views from you on the question of the right to self-determination. Nevertheless I understand and admire how you have made this question a pivot of revolution in Eastern Europe. If I were an East European I would certainly have acted and be acting just as you. In West Europe, however, I am obliged to act differently. It would be wrong to make the Alsace-Lorraine, Irish, Flemish and Danish questions, etc., into the central issue of the struggle here. We would be using imperialist methods if we did so. The peoples' right to self-determination can only be the *result* of socialism. Here the struggle is a clear-cut one for socialism alone. I believe I wrote to you about all this in 1915, so consequently I need say no more about it here. You will remember that I told you then that I was obliged to take the line of London and Berlin, rather than that of Petersburg and Moscow.

Once again I wish you the greatest success against *all* the enemy. Your struggle is an infinitely difficult one, but at the same time a splendidly humane one. Marxism is revealing itself for the first time in *action*.

Come what may, the Russian revolutionaries and you in particular, Comrade, have won immortal fame, and by your example have rendered outstanding

services to the proletarian cause all over the world and to the whole of mankind. If only the English and German proletariat would follow this example and act like you either during or after the war! It is to this end that all our actions here in Western Europe must be directed.

With best wishes,
Yours,
Herman Gorter

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

First publication

No. 27

**Resolution of a Mass
Meeting in Seattle**

(Copy sent to V. I. Lenin)

August 10, 1918

We, the assembled at the mass meeting August 10th 1918, at the Moore Theatre, for the purpose of making an effort to create a better understanding between the people of Russia and the people of America, have adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, Russia has always been a friendly nation towards America, and is yet today; and

Whereas, on the cementing of this friendship depends the future of civilisation. . .

Whereas, Russia geographically and ethnologically should maintain this friendship; and

Whereas, Russia is a country of vast natural resources, scarcely touched by the hands of men and would economically become a valuable and profitable neighbour; and

Whereas, a military intervention in Russia will be used by Germany as a means of propaganda against the allies and America particularly; therefore be it

Resolved. That we the Russian Workers' Council of Seattle, in co-operation with the citizens of this city, most solemnly ask the President of these United States to use his good offices for the recognition of the Soviet Government, which is the only choice and hope of the Russian people, and withdraw the forcible intervention that has now taken place in some parts of Siberia and replace it with an economic intervention for the establishment of closer trade relations and a better understanding between the people of Russia and those of the United States that will arrest the unfriendly sentiments of the Russian people towards America and

clear the field again for that friendship which is so important not only for America but even to the entire world; and be it further

Resolved. That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to both houses of Congress and the press.

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

No. 28

From Klara Zetkin

*Wilhelmshöhe
August 29, 1918*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

The bearer of these lines, Genosse Moskowsitch, has the good fortune to be Russian and consequently to be able to fight for socialism in Russia, the land which, thanks to the bold uprising of the Bolsheviks, is forging ahead showing the way to the international proletariat. If only I could change places with him!

Comrade Moskowsitch, an émigré, has received permission to go to Russia. He wants passionately to work and fight there for the socialist cause. He has gained industrial experience in Germany as a joiner and a salesman and hopes to be able to use this practical experience in the interests of socialism. He is placing himself entirely at the disposal of the Soviet Government and is of the opinion that he might be of use as an artisan in the country or in some other occupation requiring a person with practical experience and a deep sense of loyalty. I am certain that Comrade Moskowsitch will show himself worthy of your trust.

I am following the news from Russia with fervent interest and bated breath. Great things are being done for mankind in your country and life is worth living there. May your Communists be as victorious as you are bold and selfless! May the proletariat of the world finally prove itself worthy of you and of the Russian proletariat and the mass of the Russian people!

I send you and all our friends my heartfelt greetings and respect.

Yours,

Klara Zetkin

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

No. 29

From the Congress of the
Communist Party of Finland¹

*To the Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars
Comrade Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*

1918 (after August 30)

Dear Comrade,

It was with profound grief and anger that we received the news that you, the leader of the international revolutionary working-class movement and the noblest warrior of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, had been wounded by the bullet of a murderess secretly dispatched by the bourgeoisie. Comrade Lenin, in the sure knowledge that you are our best and most trusty teacher, we hoped to see you here in our midst and with this in mind resolved to invite you to attend our Congress. However, since our desire to see you in person at our meeting has been thwarted by the base attempt on your life, the Congress has resolved to draw up a special declaration addressed to you.

We sincerely hope that you, respected comrade, to whom we feel profoundly indebted for the communist teaching which we have received, will manage to endure the pain and suffering of a wounded warrior and, after a speedy and full recovery, will be able once again to take over the helm of the Socialist Soviet Republic with your customary energy, fulfilling the historic role which has been assigned to you.

*Presidium of the Congress of the
Communist Party of Finland*

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

¹ This letter was sent by the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Finland, which opened on August 29, 1918. The Congress was presided over by Otto Kuusinen.

No. 30

**From the Moscow Section of
the Polish Socialist Party
(Left Wing)**

*To Comrade V. I. Lenin,
Chairman of the Council of
People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R.
Moscow*

September 5, 1918

The Polish workers in the Moscow section of the Polish Socialist Party (Left wing) send their warmest greetings to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade Lenin, the staunch leader of the proletariat, and wish him a speedy recovery from the wounds inflicted by the criminal hand.

By the shots which were fired at Comrade Uritsky in Petrograd and Comrade Lenin in Moscow the base hirelings of the bourgeoisie, world capitalism and the counter-revolution, the bitter enemies of the working class, thought to destroy the great ideas of the direct fight for socialism and power in the hands of the proletariat. But the stirring slogans with which Comrade Lenin summoned the Russian proletariat to the October Revolution will not be silent until they have led us to final victory in all the countries of the world. And we are certain that with his tireless energy and iron will Comrade Lenin will continue to lead the Russian proletariat to our common ultimate victory.

Being opposed to terrorist methods as a matter of principle, we cannot find words to express our wrath and indignation at those former conciliators, who have now simply become the hirelings of international capital and who, continuing to hide under the false mask of socialism, directed the actions of those crazed people who shot at the leaders of the proletariat.

We are convinced that the latest attempts at assassination, as also the plots which have been discovered against Soviet power, are the death throes of the counter-revolution lurking in the Soviet Republic, but they should also be seen as a warning of the tenacity and still considerable strength of the enemies of the working class, and summon the latter to vigilance and steadfastness and the consistent use of proletarian, Social-Democratic methods of fighting. Only by extending and deepening the class consciousness of the working masses, by strict organisation, by friendly, concerted hard work, rather than isolated, futile outbursts, and by resolute disciplined struggle can we hope to hold the ground which has been won and defend Soviet power, not as a temporary or compromise measure, but firmly and immutably. Only thus will we be able to show the universal, humanitarian importance of our class struggle in the R.S.F.S.R. and gain a decisive victory, summoning the working masses of the whole world by our example to follow the revolutionary, Social-Democratic trail which we have blazed.

Long live world socialist revolution!

Long live the proletarian struggle of the working people for power!

Committee of the Moscow Section

C.P.A. I.M.L.
First publication

No. 31

From the Spartacus League¹

Berlin, September 5, 1918

Dear Comrade Lenin,

In the name of my friends from the "Internationale" group (the Spartacus group) I send you our deep sympathy and sincere best wishes for a speedy recovery. Gradually the German working-class masses are beginning to understand and evaluate the Russian October Revolution correctly, and this better understanding is expressed, among other things, in the many demonstrations of sympathy for you, since you have become in Germany the symbol of the socialist working-class revolution too. You will have been waiting as impatiently as we have for signs of revolutionary movement in Germany, and still be waiting. I am pleased to be able to say that all my friends have grown con-

¹ The Spartacus League was formed in 1916 from the "Internationale" group of the German Left-wing Social-Democrats led by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Klara Zetkin and others. The Spartacists carried on revolutionary propaganda among the masses against the imperialist war, denouncing the expansionist policy of German imperialism and the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders. On important questions of theory and policy, however, they were somewhat tainted with Menshevik ideas. Lenin criticised the German Left in his works *The Junius Pamphlet* and *A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economics*. In April 1917 the Spartacists joined the German Independent Social-Democratic Party, while preserving their own organisational independence. After the November revolution of 1918 in Germany they broke with the Independents and formed the Communist Party of Germany in December of the same year.

siderably more optimistic on this account. Unfortunately we have nothing to report regarding large-scale action at present or in the near future. We have more ambitious plans for the winter, however, and the whole situation in Germany is helping our work. Opposition is increasing in the army, and the workers are gradually, if slowly, coming round to the view that the old methods of parliamentary and purely demonstrational opposition are ineffectual. The events in Russia have provided a most instructive example for all.

Since most of my friends are still either in prison or under arrest, and Comrade Mehring¹ is resting in the Harz, I am signing this letter on my own, wishing you once more a most speedy recovery.

With Communist greetings,

Ernst Meyer

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

First publication

¹ Mehring, Franz (1846-1919)—an outstanding figure in the German and international working-class movements and one of the main leaders and theoreticians of the German Left-wing Social-Democrats. One of the editors of the journal *Die Neue Zeit* and later editor of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. Fought actively against opportunism in the Second International, but committed the same error as the Leftists who were afraid to make an organisational break with the opportunists. During the First World War he was an internationalist and one of the leaders of the "Internationale" group which was later renamed the Spartacus League. Played an important role in the founding of the Communist Party of Germany.

No. 32

Telegram from D. Wijnkoop

Amsterdam,
September 25,
1918

The Communists of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland request you¹ to convey to Lenin our delight that he is again able to take part in the work dedicated to international communism.

W i j n k o o p
Chairman,

Social-Democratic Workers' Party,
Editorial Offices of "De Tribune"

C.P.A. I.M.L.
First publication

¹ The telegram was forwarded by the Soviet diplomatic representative.

No. 33

From Herman Gorter

"For the Archives"¹

Bern, October 24, 1918

Dear Comrade Lenin,

Thank you for your letter. I am translating your *The State and Revolution* and in order to have it published in Holland the written consent of the author is required. Would you be kind enough to send this to me? ("I hereby authorise Dr. H. Gorter in Bussum, Holland, etc."). Have you got anything else *particularly* suitable for Western Europe? If so, please send it together with your letter. Your brochure against Kautsky, for example.

The Dutch Party (S.D.P.) has now demonstrated *in action* what it is from the point of view of internationalism.

It proposed the following resolution to parliament: "The government is hereby requested to use all possible means to obtain food from America."

This can only be implemented if Holland agrees to give America ships, which means supporting American imperialism against Russia, Germany, etc., and against the revolutionary workers in America, such as Debs and Haywood.

I protested *in advance*, but it was no good. I think that many of them do not even *realise* what supporting national interests to the detriment of international ones really means. They just don't give it a moment's thought!

What was also bad, was that the parliamentary group (4 men) did not name the means (the ships, etc.). This

¹ Note made by Lenin.

shows that they do not want to bear any responsibility for it. Disgrace and deception go hand in hand.

I have read your book *The State and Revolution* with enormous pleasure. It is making a colossal impression in Holland as well.

I hope to see you soon myself. If possible I will come with Schklowsky. This depends on the Germans, of course.

I also hope to bring my brochure *The World Revolution* with me. I am still waiting and waiting for a parcel from Holland. Everything is dreadfully slow.

With best wishes,

Yours,

H. Gorter

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the German original

First publication

No. 34

Greetings Telegram to Lenin from the Organisation of Foreign Communists in Astrakhan to Mark the Establishment of a Republic in Hungary

March 29, 1919

We welcome with delight the news of the overthrowing of bourgeois oppression and the establishment of Soviet power in Hungary. This new, important victory of the proletariat has made us redouble our efforts in the struggle against world capital. We would ask you, Comrade Lenin, to convey to our heroic Hungarian fellow Communists in Budapest, that we foreign Communists who are still in Astrakhan send warm fraternal greetings and hope to be able to render assistance in the near future. Forward in the name of the Third International!

*Astrakhan Party of
Foreign Communists*

*Militant Fraternity of Workers
of Foreign Countries with the
Peoples of Soviet Russia
(1917-1922). Russ. ed., Moscow, 1957*

No. 35

From Béla Kun¹

Budapest, April 22, 1919

Dear Comrade Lenin,

"That a single revolutionary act is worth more than a dozen programmes", I learned from Marx² but without wishing to flatter you I must say that you have taught me the real value of these words.

Enclosed I am sending you a historical document on the proletarian revolution in Hungary, a letter

¹ Kun, Béla (1886-1939)—an eminent figure in the Hungarian and international working-class movements and one of the founders and leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party. During the First World War he was taken prisoner and sent to Tomsk where he spread revolutionary propaganda among the other prisoners-of-war. In 1916 he established contact with a local branch of the R.S.D.L.P. and joined the Bolshevik Party. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 he became a member of the Tomsk gubernia committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) In 1918 he was appointed chairman of the Central Federation of Foreign Groups of the R.C.P.(B.). He returned to Hungary in the autumn of 1918. In February 1919 he was arrested and released in March. In the Hungarian Soviet Republic Kun was, in practice, at the head of the government and held the official posts of People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs and of Defence. After Soviet power had been suppressed in Hungary he went to Austria and later to Russia. In 1920 he became a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front and later Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in the Crimea. From 1921 he held the following posts: leader of Party work in the Urals, member of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, the representative of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) in the C.C. of the Russian Communist Youth League and a member of the Executive Bureau of the Comintern.

² Quotation from Marx's letter of May 5, 1875 to Wilhelm Bracke written in connection with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

addressed by me to a comrade of the Left socialist wing upon his requesting me to draw up a platform that could bring about conciliation between us. It is a Bolshevik programme, and our actions are not less Bolshevik.

In the first instance I have to point out that the proletarian revolution of the Communists would have taken place without the well-known note of Commander Vix, but I believe it would have been foolish not to have taken advantage of the opportunity it offered. . . . But the radical break with capitalism shows clearly that our revolution was really a communist one. No doubt, blood will yet be shed in the Hungarian revolution too, plenty of blood. Counter-revolution is about to raise its head, but before it can do so, we will chop off that head.

To return to what I started from, I have not sent you a programme, only a few reports on the situation. The most important thing is that the Hungarian Soviet Republic sent the first greeting of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary to its elder sister-republic. Nor am I sending you any programmes now. The further progress of international revolution will show the importance that attaches to our proletarian revolution. Our position is a critical one. But come what may, all our steps are guided by the interests of the world revolution. Not for a moment does it occur to us to sacrifice the interests of the world revolution to the interests of merely one part of international revolution. Even should a Brest peace await us, we will conclude it knowing that you carried your point when signing it against my own will, against the will of the Left Communists.

I was not ashamed at the time to confess that your policy regarding the Brest peace was right and the point of view of those who asserted the contrary was neither historical nor Marxist. But the interpretation of those who judge our revolution merely by the peculiar circumstances of its origin is not more historical. I have sent you our decrees from time to time, but I should have liked the events of the last days to pass before you

eyes as on a film, so that you should see that we not only proclaim dictatorship, but actually practise it. What you say on the necessity of dictatorship in your book against Kautsky we have taken for our guidance in exercising it. I do not believe there is even a single action or enactment based on principle that you could raise objection to. The difficulties are much greater with us than they were with you in Russia. Yet I believe no objections can be made to our actions even from the point of view of pure principle. The conciliation brought about on the basis of this programme is doubtless one of principle and tactics, that is to say, a real unity. The members of the extreme Right have been pushed out of the Party, and the old trade-union bureaucracy is gradually being sifted out.

I know very well that not I, but the proletariat itself will decide its own fate, but I beg you to keep your confidence in me. I will never go to the Right, but a Left Communism is impossible with us because we are standing so much to the Left that a further move to the Left is out of the question.

I am sending you some articles of my collaborators who have fought together with me and have been active in the front rank of the revolution.

Béla Kun

The Communist International
No. 2. 1919, pp. 223-224

No. 36

Letter from Sylvia Pankhurst¹

London, July 16, 1919

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I have been wanting very much to have a talk to you for a long time. The workers' movement in England is being destroyed before my very eyes by parliamentary and municipal political intrigue. The leaders and the masses are looking forward to nothing but the elections and are so absorbed in their election campaigns that they are neglecting socialist work completely; what is more, they are deliberately suppressing all socialist propaganda so as not to put off the electorate. The representatives elected by the workers to parliament and the municipal councils are respectable-looking people, very self-assured, who are extremely indulgent towards all the crimes of capitalism.

I realise, of course, that it is impossible, in England at least, to create a revolutionary mood among the masses who are entirely absorbed by the thought of winning elections: awareness of class interests usually disappears into thin air as the elections approach. A party which is successful at the elections is hopeless

¹ Pankhurst, Sylvia Estella (1882-1960)—active figure in the English working-class movement. During the First World War adopted a pacifist point of view. After the October Socialist Revolution began to campaign against armed intervention by the imperialist powers in Soviet Russia. Helped organise and eventually became leader of the extremely Left-wing Workers' Socialist Federation and editor of its newspaper *The Workers' Dreadnought*. Participated in the work of the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. In 1921 she joined the Communist Party of Great Britain, but was expelled shortly afterwards for refusing to obey Party discipline. Subsequently adopted a hostile attitude towards the British Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

from the revolutionary point of view. We have, as you know, the following parties and groups:

1) The trade unionists and workers who are old-fashioned politicians, void of all idealism and breadth of vision, who are *not socialists*.

2) Members of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.). It is composed of the bourgeois and the extremely religious.

3) Members of the British Socialist Party (B.S.P.). They consider themselves to be more advanced than the Independents, but there is no evidence of this in fact, and from a communist point of view many of them are perhaps even more hopeless than the Independents. Both these parties are too concerned with winning seats and when the elections are over their representatives elected by the workers generally forget all about the workers' interests.

4) The revolutionary industrialists who recognise the need for direct action. This is the most promising element; it contains some remarkable people who, in spite of their generous and humane qualities also possess an element of ruthlessness which will be essential to us when the revolution comes. It is true that many of them are organisationally incompetent outside their individual professions.

The impression which the Russian revolution made on all these different groups varied. The leaders of the first group became terrified, whereas certain of the group's rank-and-file members from the working class were transformed by the events in Russia into revolutionaries of the type which we referred to under point 4. The same must be said of the Independent Labour Party: the majority of its leaders also became alarmed and frightened, while several of its rank-and-file working-class members became revolutionaries of the No. 4 type. With regard to the adherents of the British Socialist Party, some of them could not make up their mind and others moved over to a fairly revolutionary position. The idea of rebuilding society on a Soviet basis had long since existed among the revolutionary workers of group 4, although at that time they knew

nothing about the Soviets themselves. The news of the events taking place in Russia gave them added courage. This group is composed mainly of workers from the mines and engineering factories, although recently workers of this type have begun to appear in other branches of industry.

The workers of this revolutionary group despise the parliamentary activities and would never agree to join a party which was set on winning seats in the parliamentary and municipal elections. The members of Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards must also be included in this group although they contain a fair number of elements with little political consciousness.

Apart from the four groups mentioned above we have (5) the Socialist Labour Party (S.L.P.), which was formerly opposed to parliamentarianism, but which also put up its own candidates at the last elections, as a result of which this party lost the confidence of the workers in group 4, many of whom belong to the S.L.P.

The 6th group is the "Socialist" Labour Federation founded recently, whose membership is considerably smaller than that of the other parties. Because of the special circumstances under which it was founded this federation is still composed of women to a large extent, although the majority of its new members are men; more than any other organisation this one has the right to be called the party of the poor. Its composition is explained by the fact that it campaigns in the streets and that its headquarters are in the East End. Nevertheless its membership also includes a number of clerical workers and skilled workers. At a conference held last Whitsun the Federation declared itself as the "Communist party", but in accordance with a proposal put forward by several comrades it was decided not to rename the party until all efforts had been made to organise a single Communist Party uniting groups 3, 5, 6 and 7 with the closest participation of group 4; by group 7 we mean the South Wales Socialist Society. Many hold the view that it will be impossible to persuade the Socialist Labour Party to join a Communist

Party, although certain of its members probably would join the new party; in my opinion, however, such a categorical statement is entirely unfounded.

You will be wondering why I am writing all this. The answer is to show how the whole movement is being held back here by parliamentarianism. The British Socialist Party and the Socialist Labour Party are trying to get their candidates to win the elections, and this is losing them the support of the workers in group 4 and also of the members of the Socialist Federation and the South Wales Socialist Society.

I don't know whether you can imagine how much weaker the consciousness of class interests is among English workers than among the workers of other countries, and how much more developed political intrigue of all kinds is over here.

I should like you to set out your views on participation in parliamentary activity. I have read the letter from the Finnish Communists to you. We are also in dire need of appeals of this kind. I should like you by your words to give an impetus to our movement away from the mire of reformism. Your words carry great weight with us, at least for those who sincerely want revolution. I think that if you were here you would say: "Devote all your strength to direct revolutionary action and stop all this fussing around with the political machine." That's my opinion. I don't think that any other country has a political machine which is as hard for the workers to gain control of and as capable of fooling them as England.

Yours respectfully,
(signature)¹

¹ Evidently for conspirational purposes Sylvia Pankhurst's letter was given a male signature. It was first published by the Editorial Board of the Journal *The Communist International* in issue No. 5 for September 1919 together with Lenin's reply and the following introduction: "One of our English comrades, a leading English Communist, has written to Lenin giving a very clear picture of the English socialist movement. The letter also

London, July 16, 1919

P.S. I wanted to tell you that the rank-and-file industrial workers are gradually becoming more and more convinced of the need for revolution and are only waiting for the leaders who will help them to organise it. But we are a sluggish people, and Russia has already done so much for the world. You will say that all this is the result of objective conditions. Yes, but your clear exposition of the ideas of revolution opens people's eyes and points the way to all those who hear you and read your articles; moreover, the many years of revolutionary propaganda prepared the Russian people to take bold advantage of the objective conditions.

If only we could manage to make everyone who believes in the revolution devote all the efforts to it that they are now wasting on the elections and canvassing for votes! Then apart from propaganda it is imperative to tackle organisation. At the present time we are like children lost in a strange forest or like travellers in a strange land. We will have to investigate each area in order to draw up a plan of action when the time is ripe. We are trying to carry out this work, but you would help us greatly to enlist new support for this task if you would agree to give us your directives in the form of a speech or an article—your words will reach us somehow or other. Our propagandists think it absolutely essential to justify the revolution by such arguments as: "The government is to blame for the collision, not us." As if the masses needed to justify themselves for annoying the capitalists!

English original unavailable
Translated from the Russian text
published in the *Kommunistichesky
Internatsional* No. 5, 1919

raises the direct question of the attitude which the Communists should adopt towards parliamentarianism.

Comrade Lenin replied to this letter with a detailed exposition of the communist point of view on this question. He has put both of these interesting documents at the disposal of the Editorial Board of *The Communist International*.

No. 37

Letter from Lenin
to Sylvia Pankhurst

To Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst,
London

August 28, 1919

Dear Comrade,

I received your letter of July 16, 1919 only yesterday. I am extremely grateful to you for the information about Britain and will try to fulfil your request, i.e., reply to your question.

I have no doubt at all that many workers who are among the best, most honest and sincerely revolutionary members of the proletariat are enemies of parliamentarianism and of any participation in Parliament. The older the capitalist culture and bourgeois democracy in any country, the more understandable this is, since the bourgeoisie in old parliamentary countries has excellently mastered the art of hypocrisy and of fooling the people in a thousand ways, passing off bourgeois parliamentarianism as "democracy in general" or as "pure democracy" and so on, cunningly concealing the million threads which bind Parliament to the stock exchange and the capitalists, utilising a venal mercenary press and exercising the power of money, the power of capital in every way.

There is no doubt that the Communist International and the Communist Parties of the various countries would be making an irreparable mistake if they repulsed those workers who stand for Soviet power, but who are against participation in the parliamentary struggle. If we take the problem in its general form, theoretically, then it is this very programme, i.e., the struggle for Soviet power, for the Soviet republic, which is able to unite, and today must certainly unite, all

sincere, honest revolutionaries from among the workers. Very many anarchist workers are now becoming sincere supporters of Soviet power, and that being so, it proves them to be our best comrades and friends, the best of revolutionaries, who have been enemies of Marxism only through misunderstanding, or, more correctly, not through misunderstanding but because the official socialism prevailing in the epoch of the Second International (1889-1914) betrayed Marxism, lapsed into opportunism, perverted Marx's revolutionary teachings in general and his teachings on the lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871 in particular. I have written in detail about this in my book *The State and Revolution* and will therefore not dwell further on the problem.

What if in a certain country those who are Communists by their convictions and their readiness to carry on revolutionary work, sincere partisans of Soviet power (the "Soviet system", as non-Russians sometimes call it), cannot unite owing to disagreement over participation in Parliament?

I should consider such disagreement immaterial at present, since the struggle for Soviet power is the political struggle of the proletariat in its highest, most class-conscious, most revolutionary form. It is better to be with the revolutionary workers when they are mistaken over some partial or secondary question than with the "official" socialists or Social-Democrats, if the latter are not sincere, firm revolutionaries, and are unwilling or unable to conduct revolutionary work among the working masses, but pursue correct tactics in regard to that partial question. And the question of parliamentarianism is now a partial, secondary question. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were, in my opinion, correct when they defended participation in the elections to the German bourgeois parliament, to the constituent National Assembly, at the January 1919 Conference of the Spartacists in Berlin, *against* the majority at the Conference. But, of course, they were still more correct when they preferred remaining with the Communist Party, which was making a partial

mistake, to siding with the direct traitors to socialism, like Scheidemann and his party, or with those servile souls, doctrinaires, cowards, spineless accomplices of the bourgeoisie, and reformists in practice, such as Kautsky, Hasse, Däumig and all this "party" of German "Independents".

I am personally convinced that to renounce participation in the parliamentary elections is a mistake on the part of the revolutionary workers of Britain, but better to make that mistake than to delay the formation of a big workers' Communist Party in Britain out of all the trends and elements, listed by you, which sympathise with Bolshevism and sincerely support the Soviet Republic. If, for example, among the B.S.P. there were sincere Bolsheviks who refused, because of differences over participation in Parliament, to merge at once in a Communist Party with trends 4, 6 and 7, then these Bolsheviks, in my opinion, would be making a mistake a thousand times greater than the mistaken refusal to participate in elections to the British bourgeois parliament. In saying this I naturally assume that trends 4, 6 and 7, taken together, are really connected with the *mass* of the workers, and are not *merely* small intellectual groups, as is often the case in Britain. In this respect particular importance probably attaches to the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards, which, one should imagine, are closely connected with the *masses*.

Unbreakable ties with the mass of the workers, the ability to agitate unceasingly among them, to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses—this is the chief thing for a Communist Party, especially in such a country as Britain, where until now (as incidentally is the case in all imperialist countries) participation in the socialist movement, and the labour movement generally, has been confined chiefly to a thin top crust of workers, the labour aristocracy, most of whom are thoroughly and hopelessly spoiled by reformism and are held back by bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. Without a struggle against this stratum, without the destruction of every trace of

its prestige among the workers, without convincing the masses of the utter bourgeois corruption of this stratum, there can be no question of a serious communist workers' movement. This applies to Britain, France, America and Germany.

Those working-class revolutionaries who make parliamentarianism the centre of their attacks are quite right inasmuch as these attacks serve to express their denial in principle of bourgeois parliamentarianism and bourgeois democracy. Soviet power, the Soviet republic—this is what the workers' revolution has put in place of bourgeois democracy, this is the form of transition from capitalism to socialism, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And criticism of parliamentarianism is not only legitimate and necessary, as giving the case for the transition to Soviet power, but is quite correct, as being the recognition of the historically conditional and limited character of parliamentarianism, its connection with capitalism and capitalism alone, of its progressive character as compared with the Middle Ages, and of *its reactionary character as compared with Soviet power*.

But the critics of parliamentarianism in Europe and America, when they are anarchists or anarcho-syndicalists, are very often wrong insofar as they reject *all participation* in elections and parliamentary activity. Here they simply show their lack of revolutionary experience. We Russians, who have lived through two great revolutions in the twentieth century, are well aware what importance parliamentarianism can have, and actually does have during a revolutionary period in general and *in the very midst of a revolution* in particular. Bourgeois parliaments must be abolished and replaced by Soviet bodies. There is no doubt about that. There is no doubt now, after the experience of Russia, Hungary, Germany and other countries, that *this absolutely must take place* during a proletarian revolution. Therefore, systematically to prepare the working masses for this, to explain to them in advance the importance of Soviet power, to conduct propaganda and agitation for it—all this is the *absolute* duty of the

worker who wants to be a revolutionary in deeds. But we Russians fulfilled *that* task, operating in the parliamentary arena, *too*. In the tsarist, fake, landowners' Duma our representatives knew how to carry on revolutionary and republican propaganda. In just the same way *Soviet propaganda* can and must be carried on in and from within bourgeois parliaments.

Perhaps that will not be easy to achieve at once in this or that parliamentary country. But that is another question. Steps must be taken to ensure that these correct tactics are mastered by the revolutionary workers in all countries. And if the workers' party is really *revolutionary*, if it is really a *workers' party* (that is, connected with the masses, with the majority of the working people, with the *rank and file* of the proletariat and not merely with its top crust), if it is really a *party*, i.e., a firmly, effectively knit *organisation of the revolutionary vanguard*, which knows how to carry on revolutionary work among the masses by all possible means, then such a party will surely be able to keep *its own* parliamentarians in hand, to make of them real revolutionary propagandists, such as Karl Liebknecht was, and not opportunists, not those who corrupt the proletariat with bourgeois methods, bourgeois customs, bourgeois ideas or bourgeois poverty of ideas.

If that failed to be achieved in Britain at once, if, in addition, no union of the supporters of Soviet power proved possible in Britain because of a difference over parliamentarianism and only because of that, then I should consider a good step forward to complete unity the immediate formation of *two Communist Parties*, i.e., two parties which stand for the transition from bourgeois parliamentarianism to Soviet power. Let one of these parties recognise participation in the bourgeois parliament, and the other reject it; this disagreement is now so immaterial that the most reasonable thing would be not to split over it. But even the joint existence of two such parties would be immense progress as compared with the present situation, would most likely be a transition to complete unity and the speedy victory of communism.

Soviet power in Russia has not only shown by the experience of almost two years that the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible *even* in a peasant country and is capable, by creating a strong army (the best proof that organisation and order prevail), of holding out in unbelievably, exceptionally difficult conditions.

Soviet power has done more: it has already achieved a moral victory *throughout* the world, for the working masses everywhere, although they get only tiny fragments of the truth about Soviet power, although they hear thousands and millions of false reports about Soviet power, *are already in favour of Soviet power*. It is already understood by the proletariat of the whole world that this power is the power of the working people, that it alone is salvation from capitalism, from the yoke of capital, from wars between the imperialists, that it leads to lasting peace.

That is why defeats of individual Soviet republics by the imperialists are possible, but it is impossible to conquer the world Soviet movement of the proletariat.

With communist greetings,

N. Lenin

P.S.—The following cutting from the Russian press will give you an example of our information about Britain:

"London, 25.8 (via Beloostrov). The London correspondent of the Copenhagen paper *Berlingske Tidende* wires on August 3rd concerning the Bolshevik movement in Britain: 'The strikes which have occurred in the last few days and the recent revelations have shaken the confidence of the British in the immunity of their country to Bolshevism. At present the press is vigorously discussing this question, and the government is making every effort to establish that a "conspiracy" has existed for quite a long time and has had for its aim neither more nor less than the overthrow of the existing system. The British police have arrested a revolutionary bureau which, according to the press, had both money and arms at its disposal. *The Times* publishes the contents of certain documents found on the arrested men. They contain a complete revolutionary programme, according to which the entire bourgeoisie are to be disarmed; arms and ammunition are to be

obtained for Soviets of Workers' and Red Army Deputies and a Red Army formed; all government posts are to be filled by workers. Furthermore, it was planned to set up a revolutionary tribunal for political criminals and persons guilty of cruelly treating prisoners. All foodstuffs were to be confiscated. Parliament and other organs of public government were to be dissolved and revolutionary Soviets created in their place. The working day was to be lowered to six hours and the minimum weekly wage raised to £7. All state and other debts were to be annulled. All banks, industrial and commercial enterprises and means of transport were to be declared nationalised.'"

If this is true, then I must offer the British imperialists and capitalists, in the shape of their organ, the richest newspaper in the world, *The Times*, my respectful gratitude and thanks for their excellent propaganda in behalf of Bolshevism. Carry on in the same spirit, gentlemen of *The Times*, you are splendidly leading Britain to the victory of Bolshevism!

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 29, pp. 561-66

No. 38

From the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia

*Eastern Department
People's Commissariat of
Foreign Affairs
Petrograd*

September 23, 1919

I should be grateful if the Eastern Section would kindly pass on to Comrade V. I. Lenin the enclosed box of green tea received from China and sent to him by the Chinese workers.

I am also taking advantage of this opportunity to ask the Eastern Section to inform Comrade Lenin that we would be extremely grateful to him if he would make it possible for us to give the readers of our paper *Chinese Worker*¹ the pleasure of an article written specially for it by Comrade Lenin.

With best wishes,
(signatures)

Molodoi Kommunist No. 4, 1963

¹ The newspaper *Chinese Worker* was the organ of the Union of Chinese Workers in Russia and actively supported Soviet power.

No. 39

From Béla Kun

Karlsruhe
December 7, 1919

Dear Comrade Vladimir Ilyich,

... At the moment I am still interned, but the work goes on. The fall of our dictatorship has had a very useful effect on our proletariat, in that now we have something which we lacked before—a revolutionary past. In spite of the white terror there are already many party organisations in existence and underground work is well under way. Our journal is already being published and we are going to flood Hungary with an enormous number of pamphlets. If anything should flare up anywhere Hungary will follow suit. The white army is already in the first stage of disorganisation. Everything favours our aims, but, unfortunately, the proletariat is steadily disintegrating as a class. It is quite possible that I shall be able to come to Russia in connection with the Third International; I would, of course, return here immediately afterwards to carry on our work. We are in close touch with all countries. Things are going well in Italy, but unfortunately they lack theoretical clarity and financial support. I consider the position of the Independent Socialist Party in Leipzig to be of the utmost importance for our cause—with the use of skilful fighting tactics it could easily be exploited. Nothing much is being done in Austria, but that is not very important. A large journal on an international scale is vitally necessary, and we have already begun preparations for its publication but we do not have enough new Russian material on present

conditions... The cause of the revolution in the West is improving daily and also becoming more ideologically mature; unfortunately it has few leaders possessing revolutionary experience.

Warmest greetings to you and all the comrades,

Yours respectfully,

Béla Kun

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
copy
First publication

No. 40

From D. Wijnkoop

Amsterdam,
January 7, 1920

Dear Comrade,

The hearer of this letter, or at least the person who is carrying it from Holland to Germany, is a young Englishman, Mr. Frank Shaw, who according to the information I have received is a member of the English committee called The Friends' Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee of Ethelburgh House, 91, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2. (The secretary of this committee is A. Ruth Fry.) He is proposing to visit Petrograd and Moscow to escort and supervise the distribution of food for children's hospitals in Russia. I am taking advantage of this opportunity—because he is also proposing to come and see you personally, dear Comrade Lenin, and I trust that you will be kind enough to receive him, have a talk with him, and give him either oral or written instructions for me, since he is returning via Holland—so, I am taking advantage of this opportunity to:

1) wish you a Happy New Year in the hope that it will be an even more revolutionary one than the preceding years;

2) to congratulate you on your recent successes against K.&D. [Kolchak and Denikin] in the Caucasus and in Turkestan;

3) to assure you that we, naturally, will not rest on these successes but will do all we can (S.J.R.¹ and the rest of us) to see that the workers, principally of Western Europe and England in particular, take active

¹ Probably the initials of Sebald J. Rutgers, the leader of the Amsterdam bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

steps to oppose any attempt either open or secret to undermine the R.S.F.S.R.;

4) that in this connection we hope shortly to hold a meeting of delegates not only from the Eastern countries (the Bolsheviks will also attend, will they not?) and central European countries, but also from the West and America, which will take place in one of these countries (we will inform you in good time), and also to initiate action in these countries, and

5) that we have already succeeded in establishing firm contact with the above-mentioned countries.

The times are advancing, dear Comrade, and the militant proletariat and exploited of all the world will join with the Russia of the Soviets.

Permit us to give you a cordial handshake (on behalf of S.R. as well, who is ill).

Faternally yours,

David Wijnkoop

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from French original

First publication

No. 41

**From the Council Representing
Workers of New South Wales**

Sidney, February 27, 1920

Dear Comrade,

I have the honour by direction of the above Council, representing 100,000 Organised Workers of New South Wales, Australia, to send you Fraternal Greetings.

At a meeting of Delegates the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

That this Council representing the Workers of New South Wales, views with approval the failure of International Capitalism to destroy the Russian Soviet Republic.

Yours fraternally,

*Secretary J. Garden
President John Harvie*

Original

No. 42

**From Chinese Workers
Living in Russia¹**

April 23, 1920

Greetings to Comrade Lenin on his 50th birthday

The workers of the world
Are rising up today
To change the weak countries of the poor
Into a new world,
To build communism
And to secure lasting peace.
The peasants and workers of all lands
Look to Lenin with deep admiration.

Kommunist, No. 3, 1960

¹ This letter was embroidered on silk in Chinese characters.

No. 43

**From the Association
of Chinese Workers**

*Address to the Russian
Workers' and Peasants' government¹.*

May 22, 1920

Your government's address² was welcomed with great joy by the Chinese people who were deeply moved by it, and has inspired the sympathy of working people the whole world over. It has made the Chinese workers even more politically conscious.

On May 5 this year our united workers' association decided to organise a meeting to celebrate the workers' holiday and, on behalf of all its workers, expresses its gratitude for your government's address.

Our association is particularly sorry not to be able to give free expression to its views due to the fact that China is subject to the tyranny of a coercive government. The association requests you to convey our reply and hopes that you will take this into consideration.

¹ This address together with the following document was both delivered to the Eastern Section of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at the end of 1920, together with other letters from revolutionary organisations in Southern and South-Western China. A translation of these documents dated December 10, 1920 was sent to V. I. Lenin, to whom they were addressed.

² This refers to the Address from the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. to the Chinese People and the Governments of Southern and Northern China dated June 25, 1919. The address was printed in the Chinese press in March 1920 and provoked a tremendous response. The Soviet Government received addresses from various organisations, resolutions of meetings, messages of greeting, etc.

At the present time the Chinese people are still oppressed by national and foreign capitalists, but is counting on receiving open-hearted assistance from you, because of your deep sympathy with our cause, in throwing off the yoke of internal and external capitalism under your rightful leadership. In this we place our hope.

Association of Chinese Workers

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

No. 44

Reply from the Association
of Chinese Workers
to the Address of the Russian
Workers' and Peasants'
Government

May 1920

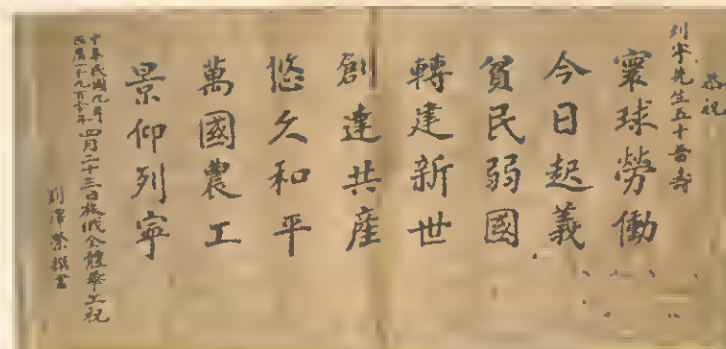
To our brothers, the Russian workers and peasants, and the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government.

We, the workers, protected by the Washington Labour Conference¹ occupy an exceptional position. We have received your address and were deeply touched by it. We are grateful to you not for having returned that which was seized by your former predatory government, which dispossessed us of our riches and various sovereign rights. We were convinced that there was no longer any international concern for the Chinese workers, and now today we have heard the most heart-felt speech from our fellow-workers.

Ever since mankind began we have been only too familiar with the responsibility which we bear and the bitterness of oppression by the predatory classes. We cannot forget these for a single minute and it is essential for us to do our utmost to create a new, magnificent, eternal world for mankind.

We have decided to join forces with you and bear this great responsibility. Today both inside and outside China we are oppressed by national and foreign capitalists. We are placing our hopes on you, brothers, who have risen before us. We trust that you will render us,

¹ The International Conference of Trade Unions held in 1919, at which a vague, inconsistent resolution was adopted in defence of the rights of workers in colonial countries.



Chinese workers to Lenin

as well as the Indian, Japanese, Korean and Annam workers, truly mighty assistance. We realise that we workers are extraordinarily lacking in knowledge and that we are surrounded by the capitalist classes and the vile temptations of the government, but nevertheless we place our hope in your leadership and trust that the road along which we shall go will lead us to great and just happiness, and that we shall tread it bravely.

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

No. 45

From Ben Turner¹

*"Ben Turner's letter
of 29. 5. 20 for the
archives"*²

*Delovoi Dvor Hotel,
Moscow, May 29, 1920*

Dear Comrade,

I desire to express to you and the Soviet Republic of Russia my hearty appreciation of the kindness and hospitality shown to me. Your country is rich in ideals and your practical men and women are doing an international work in developing the same ideals and I wish Long Life to Russian Democracy and Success to Socialism. If you would let me convey from you to our British Labour Party conference your greetings to the Proletariat of our own country I should be pleased to do so. It has been to one and all a wonderful example of determined and scientific attempts to build up a Workers' Republic. That you will succeed I am sure. That you may succeed in making the New Socialist State is my heartfelt wish.

Yours fraternally,

Ben Turner

Original

¹ Ben Turner—a representative of the British Labour Party who led a delegation of English trade unionists and members of the Labour Party to Soviet Russia in May 1920.

² Note made by Lenin.

No. 46

From Fred Pavlovski

Moscow, July 4, 1920

Dear Comrade Lenin,

Being about to return to my native land, Czechoslovakia, I consider it my duty to thank the whole Russian proletariat through you for the warm hospitality which was extended to us, the Czech Communists, and to me in particular, over these three years. We shall never forget this shining example of proletarian solidarity! It will be our hope and stay during the hard battle which awaits us in Czechoslovakia and I am convinced that with this as our support we will emerge victorious. Then, I hope, we will have the pleasure and honour of seeing you, respected Comrade Lenin, and all your Russian comrades as our guests in Czechoslovakia.

I should like to conclude with the request that you allow me to convey your Communist greetings to the working masses of Czechoslovakia.

Yours faithfully,

F. Pavlovski

*Member of the Central Committee of the
Czechoslovak Workers' Party*

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

No. 47

Sons of Lenin

(From a Red Army Yugoslav)

Moscow, August 15, 1920

We have obtained some official news from Yugoslavia. It appears that our bourgeoisie is terrified of the Yugoslav workers and peasants who are living in Russia. It has announced that there are no Yugoslavs in Soviet Russia worthy of any attention and that the "sons of Lenin" are of no interest.

But we, workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, can only take pride in the fact that we are called the "sons" of the great proletarian leader, before whom the bourgeoisie of the whole world trembles, and who is leading the workers to freedom from the capitalist yoke. Therefore, when the oppressors and blood-suckers call us "sons of Lenin" we shout proudly "Long live our father, the father of the oppressed and persecuted, the great leader of the world revolution, comrade Lenin!"

One of the sons

First published in *Krasnoye Znamya* (in Croatian)
August 15, 1920

No. 48

From a Delegate
of the Mexican
Communist Party

*Delovoi Dvor Hotel,
Room 216
Moscow, September 11, 1920*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I am to leave for home sometime next week and before going away I should like to have a talk with you, both about Mexican and Spanish affairs. Is it possible?

With Communist greetings,

Jesús Ramírez

*Delegate of the Mexican Communist
Party to the 2nd Congress of the Third
International*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

First publication

No. 49

From Pedro Fróboli in Italy

*Pinerolo, September 20,
1920*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I send you greetings and good wishes in the name of our noble movement whose most worthy representative you are and, knowing the influence of your teaching in Italy, make so bold as to address you a few lines and raise a toast to the proletarian cause and to the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in this country as well. At the same time I venture to ask you for your autographed photograph, if this is not too great an inconvenience, which we will treasure as belonging to the most revered figure in the world.

Let me conclude by expressing my devotion to your ideals and by sending you my most humble greetings,

Fróboli

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

No. 50

Letters from R. Merino Gracia¹

*Moscow, September 20,
1920*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

As the *Spanish Communist Party* delegate I unfortunately arrived late for the Second Congress of the Third International. You have already discussed the subject of the situation in Spain with Comrade Pestaña.² I should also like to report to you in my turn, if you think it necessary, and am at your disposal for this purpose.

With Communist greetings,

R. Merino Gracia

*Secretary of the Provisional Executive
Committee of the Communist Party of Spain*

C.P.A. I.M.I.

Translated from the French
original

First publication

¹ R. Merino Gracia—secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, was received by Lenin on September 25, 1920. Their talk lasted two hours.

² Pestaña, Angel (1888-1937)—Spanish anarcho-syndicalist who adopted an openly anti-communist position. Visited the Soviet Union twice. Wrote two books containing hostile criticism of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow, October 21, 1920

Dear Comrade Lenin,

The two delegates of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party arrived in Moscow the day before yesterday: *Daniel Anguiano* (secretary) and *Fernando de los Rios*,¹ deputy.

The Congress of the Spanish Socialist Party, held in July 1920 at the House of the People in Madrid, authorised them to discuss the question of provisional affiliation to the Third International. Since the 2nd Congress of the Third International had already approved the conditions for admission of parties into the Third International, this question will have to be referred back to the Spanish Socialist Party for further consideration.

The two delegates are now here to study and acquaint themselves with the question. They are the leading figures of the Centre in Spain. *Fernando de los Rios* attended the Washington Conference with another reformist Spaniard as representative of the General Workers' Union which refused to join the Third International and decided to remain in the yellow Amsterdam International.

Anguiano, the secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, is opposed to the dictatorship of

¹ The delegates of the Second Extraordinary Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, *Fernando de los Rios* and *Daniel Anguiano*, were received by Lenin on December 10, 1920. The affiliation of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party to the Comintern and the position of Soviet Russia were among the topics discussed at the meeting.

Moscow, and you know what that means coming from a Centrist, no matter what his nationality.

I have pleasure in sending you a copy of our Madrid weekly *El Comunista*¹.

With warmest greetings, I remain
Yours sincerely,

R. Merino Gracia

Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the French
original

First publication

¹ *El Comunista* was the first printed organ of the Spanish Communist Party set up on April 15, 1920.

No. 52

From M. I. Duggan¹

*Hubbard Woods,
Illinois, U.S.A.*

December 20, 1920

Dear Sir,

... I have been following events in your country for some time and it seems to me that Russia is now really coming out of that long dream and sleep and is really opening up her wonderful possibilities.

I am intensely interested in Russia, and her future, from a student and human standpoint, and I would like very much to be given an opportunity to assist, if possible, in the reorganisation and development of Russia's communicational systems.

... I would very much appreciate it if you would consider this an earnest application to come to Russia in some desirable position along the lines indicated; I am sure you would not regret such an arrangement and I know that my services and experience in all branches of modern telegraph and telephone systems would be very valuable, besides which I am very enthusiastic to see your country come to the front in internal development.

I can come any time, and ... desire to leave here as soon as possible.

¹ Duggan, M. I.—an American citizen and specialist in the organisation, construction and management of telegraph and telephone systems.

With very kind personal regards and the hope that your efforts of the past years are bearing much fruit for humanity in general, as I know they are.¹

Yours truly,

M. I. Duggan

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ Lenin made the following note on Duggan's letter: "Return to *Lezhava* for comment". On March 24, 1921 the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, Lezhava, suggested to Lenin that Duggan should discuss his request with L. K. Martens, who was shortly to leave for the U.S.A. at the head of a Soviet mission. Lenin requested Lezhava to "prepare a draft reply from me in English and send it to me for signature". (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 54.)

No. 54

From an American Engineer

Petrograd, Russia

*Salem, Oregon,
April 21, 1921*

Most Honorable Sir,

I take the liberty of writing to you in hope that perhaps some of these ideas may be of use or may help you strengthen the government you have already founded.

I read Mr. William C. Bullitt's¹ report and was very much pleased by his description of your government and its workings.

I hope you will never weaken and allow any of the natural resources of the country to pass into private ownership. You are right, but you can only prove it in time.

We have one instance in our state of Minnesota. Some years ago Minnesota had a wonderful Governor. Some school-lands containing iron ore came up for sale. This Governor says "No, we will not sell, but lease these iron lands". And right now, these same leases almost pay for the current expenses of the state.

¹ Bullitt, William Christian (b. 1891)—reactionary American journalist and diplomat. One of the leading proponents of American imperialist anti-Soviet policy. Sent by Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George on a special mission to the Soviet Union in 1919. Following that retired from the diplomat service to which he returned in 1933. From 1933-1936 held the post of the first U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. American ambassador to France from 1936-1941. Pursued an anti-Soviet policy during his periods of service in the U.S.S.R. and France. From 1942-1943 acted as special assistant to the U.S. Naval Minister. After the Second World War he was an active supporter of the "cold war" policy.

I am enclosing you a little clipping. Mr. Vanderlip¹ may be all right. But before he went over to your country, I read a small notice in the paper that he was going over in the interest of some mining syndicate. After such a syndicate gets hold of a property, the small prospector and even the government can go hang for all they care. The writer was in conversation on Sunday last with an old miner and prospector from Nome and Dawson, Alaska. He made the remark that if your country ever got settled and safe he was going into North-Eastern Siberia and that 10,000 more men that had worked in Alaska would be ready to go along. He claims it is richer than Alaska.

Why not start a good trading station adjacent to this field, put in a government commissary and some clever newspaper advertiser? Make your investigations this year and also preparations. And about next January or February start your propaganda man loose. If you can guarantee the life and health of the average American prospector, he is ready to go anywhere. Once your country had the gold, all the world would be very anxious to have your business.

Keep your mining laws like those of Canada or better, those of Australia or New Zealand. By guarding these natural resources, some day, all Russia will cherish your name as the greatest of all Russians, the same as this nation reveres the name of Abraham Lincoln.

I want nothing for myself. I am just a common civil engineer but I wanted to tell you I believed in you, and hope you can finally convince your enemies that your doctrine is sound and just.

Sincerely Yours,

H. H. Flanagan

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Original

First publication

¹ Vanderlip, Washington B.—engineer and representative of American industrial circles. Visited Soviet Russia in 1920 to negotiate a treaty for oil and coal concessions in Kamchatka.

No. 55

From The Round Table of Oceano Organisation

*To Mr. Lenin
Moscow, Russia*

*Oceano,¹ California
May 15, 1921*

My dear Sir,

Enclosed I am sending you a copy of an interview with Nikola Tesla,² clipped from *The American Magazine* of April, 1921. It occurred to me that Tesla's discoveries in the wireless transmission of electric power might be of great interest to you, and that a letter from you to him might lead to an arrangement for the use of his invention in Russia.

I have read with great interest the issue of *Soviet Russia*³ for March 12, 1921, called the "Electrification Number". You are quoted therein as saying that "Communism is the Soviet Government plus the electrification of the whole country", thus repeating and endorsing Krzyzanowski's formulation, "The Soviet power plus electricity equals communism". If Russia can make a success of communism it will mark the greatest economic advance in human history, and will set an example the rest of the world must inevitably follow.

¹ Oceano—a small town on the Pacific coast in the Gulf of San Luis Obispo.

² Tesla, Nikola (1856-1943)—celebrated inventor in the field of electrical engineering and radio. Born in Croatia. He was one of the first to prove that it was possible to transmit signals and electricity over long distances without the use of wires.

³ *Soviet Russia*—a journal published in the U.S.A. at the time by the friends of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Delegation.

Our organisation, The Round Table of Oceano, is composed of thinking men and women, and as such we are intensely interested in all news from Russia. As Secretary of the Round Table I was requested to send you this Tesla interview, and also to write to Tesla enclosing a copy of the March 12th number of *Soviet Russia*, hoping thus to help pave the way for a correspondence between Tesla and yourself.

If Russia can use Tesla's invention for wireless transmission of power, thus saving the labour and cost and time required for construction of transmission lines, its problem of electrification will be greatly simplified; and the success of communism sooner realised. In this consummation you have the best wishes and hearty good-will of

The Round Table of Oceano,
W. A. Wotherspoon
Secretary

Original

No. 56

**From the Secretary
of the Bingen-Alzey Section
of the German United
Communist Party**

Bingen, June 3, 1921

Dear Comrade Lenin,

The last time I had occasion to speak to you was a week before the attempt made on your life in the summer of 1918.¹ I mention this simply in order to remind you who I am.

The present crisis in the German party fills me with great concern. I have made an extremely careful and conscientious study of all the material relating to the March campaign² and have been compelled to reach the conclusion set out in the attached report.³ A study of

¹ Lenin had a talk with Eckert on August 22, 1918. (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 37.)

² Eckert is referring to the uprising of workers in Central Germany of March 1921, provoked by the bourgeoisie with the support of the Social-Democrats. This provocation was intended as a warning against a new wave of revolution. The police organised illegal raids and beating of workers. In response to an appeal by the German Communist Party, workers in various regions declared strike action which developed into an armed struggle with the police. Partisan detachments were formed. The heroic struggle of the workers of Central Germany produced demonstrations of solidarity among the workers of Berlin, Hamburg and other towns. However, the March uprising was cruelly suppressed due to the fact that it did not succeed in gaining the support of the masses, lacked united leadership, and was denounced as a "putsch" by the opportunists who called on the workers to lay down their arms at the height of battle.

In spite of this defeat the events in March proved to be of great importance for the development of the working-class movement in Germany. They were highly praised by Lenin.

³ Eckert's 11-page report (in German) is preserved with the letter.

your brochure "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* strengthened me in the conviction that the tactics of the March campaign were opposed to all the basic principles of communist tactics. I wrote the enclosed report before receiving Paul Levi's¹ pamphlet *Unser Weg*.

However, I delayed publication of it in order not to add to the confusion in our party. I am now sending it to you to make use of as you think best. Above all I should be grateful if you would be kind enough to correct any possible errors or obscure points, since the views underlying the report are shared not only by me but by many others, including some very worthy party comrades. I trust that you will give us the benefit of your wealth of experience and esteemed advice in the present situation.

Perhaps it would be possible for you to give a detailed account of your views on the most important points in the *Communist International*.

The bearer of this letter, Comrade Jakob Greis from Wiesbaden, will give you a further oral report on the situation in the occupied areas of Rheinland, which you are sure to find of interest.

I regret that I am not able to be with you, dear comrades, and remain with fraternal, Communist greetings,

Yours ever,

Jakob Eckert

Address: Jakob Eckert, Bingen/Rhein, Bienengarten 6, 1.

Cordial greetings to comrades Chicherin, Karakhan and Béla Kun.

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the German original

First publication

¹ Levi, Paul (1883-1930)—German Social-Democrat and lawyer. Attended the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915. Member of the Swiss group of the Zimmerwald Left and of the Spartacus League. Elected to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party at its Constituent Congress. Delegate to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. Elected as communist deputy to the Reichstag in 1920. Left the Central Committee in February 1921 and was expelled from the party in April for his treacherous behaviour during the events of March 1921 in Central Germany. Subsequently rejoined the Social-Democratic Party.

No. 57

From Dr. José Gómez
of Colombia

Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin),

*Moscow,
Soviet Republic of Russia*

Medellin, June 27, 1921

Revered Sir,

You will be amazed to receive from the very heart of Colombia, one of the most bourgeois and conservative countries in the world, an expression of profound praise and admiration to you and your comrades for the great work of social construction, which you have undertaken on the ruins of old Russia.

I have been following, to the best of my ability, the revolutionary and organisational work which was expressed in wonderful deeds and incontrovertible facts; I have managed to get hold of manuscripts, books and pamphlets which find their way to our town from time to time in very limited quantities. I find your work intensely interesting. The limited information which reaches us from afar and the news of momentous events enable me to follow the course of your work constantly with great excitement. I have become familiar with your teaching and your practical application of it to such an extent that I wrote an article for the local newspaper about the Russian revolution expressing praise and admiration for its leaders. I am interested in everything connected with the Soviet Republic . . . since it all is in keeping with my own views and because Soviet power is determined either to rebuild the world by succeeding in establishing communism, or perish in the attempt.

I should like, insofar as I am capable of doing so, to devote myself to a study of socialism with a view to

applying my social knowledge in modern literature. For this reason I am addressing myself to you with the humble request to send me pamphlets, journals, books and newspapers in sufficient quantities for me to be able to circulate them among my close friends interested in economic theories in all their forms, particularly those concerned with their practical application.

You will appreciate, honoured sir, that in our backwater we know nothing about the great movements which promise to change the economic laws governing mankind; this is all the more difficult to endure because we live in a country which is clinging particular hard to the old systems. But we have a younger generation which is healthy, thoughtful, independent and capable of studying everything which will give it a chance to overcome commonplace, routine and attain the ideal. . . .

I am convinced that you will not refuse my request since it concerns the study and dissemination of your aspirations.

Assuring you, honoured sir, of my deep respect and gratitude,

Respectfully yours,

José Gómez

Address: Señor Doctor José J. Gómez R., Medellin-Antioquia, Colombia, South America, School of Commerce.

C.P.A. L.M.L.

Translated from the Spanish
original

No. 58

From the Italian Communist
A. Caroti¹

*Savoy Hotel, Room 502
Moscow, July 28, 1921*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

Thank you for your letter of December 20 last which was sent to me by your secretary. I did not reply to it immediately as I knew you to be very busy with the Congress.

I shall be staying for another ten or twelve days in Moscow and would be very pleased if you could see me before my departure.

With fraternal greetings, dear Comrade, Yours,

Arturo Caroti

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the French
original

First publication

¹ A. Caroti came to Moscow to represent the Italian cinematographic firm "Cito-Cinema" in discussions concerning concessions on the making and buying of films in Russia for distribution in Italy. In this connection Lenin wrote a letter dated December 5, 1921 to the People's Commissariats of Foreign Trade, Finance and Education, and All-Russia Economic Council. (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 44.)

No. 59

From the Secretary
of the Industrial Workers
of the World W. Haywood

Moscow, August 12, 1921

Dear Comrade,

I gleaned from what you said the last time I saw you, that you imagined the Industrial Workers of the World was an illegal organisation, or at least compelled to do much of its work underground. At that time I did not have an opportunity to go into the matter with you. I now desire to explain, that notwithstanding the bitter persecution and prosecution that the membership of the I.W.W. has been compelled to undergo, it has never been driven under cover.

It is true that thousands of members have been arrested and some hundreds are serving long terms in prison. Many special enactments have been directed against the I.W.W. in 41 states of the United States. Criminal-syndicalism laws have been passed in a futile attempt to prevent the agitation and growth of the organisation. In spite of all this, the work of education is being carried on.

In Chicago we have a splendidly equipped printing plant, four linotype machines, a Goss and two Mealey presses as well as smaller presses. We publish weekly papers in various languages. In New York City, *The Industrial Unionist* (English); Seattle, Wash. *Industrial Worker* (English); Duluth, Minn. *Indoistrialiste* (Finnish). At Headquarters, Chicago, we issue *Solidarity* (English); *Klassenkampf* (German); *Golos Truzhennika* (Russian); *Proletario* (Italian), as well as other weeklies in Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian with occasional issues of Polish, Lithuanian, Swedish and Spanish.

Monthly magazines—*Industrial Pioneer* (English);
Vapauten (Finnish).

With this letter I am sending you copies of three English weeklies, so that you will have an idea of the nature of the educational work being carried on.

There is a discrimination by the government against nearly all I.W.W. papers, as we have been denied second class mailing privileges, and all foreign papers are compelled to submit the postal authorities English translations of each issue. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of mail have been held up and destroyed. The circulation and distribution of the papers is chiefly maintained through a delegate system.

I will be pleased to furnish any other information that you may desire.

With Communist greetings,

W. D. Haywood

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

First publication

No. 60

**From the Representative
of the Communist Party
of America**

Moscow, August 14, 1921

Dear Vladimir Ilyich,

I am sending you a copy of the report,¹ which I have submitted to the Small Bureau of the Comintern.² I hope that will give you adequate information about the Communist Party of America. I did not receive any information about the latest developments of our movement in America, but I am sure that they are waiting impatiently for the decisions of the Small Bureau.

Yours for Communism,

Oscar Baldwin

*Representative of the Communist
Party of America*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

First publication

¹ Report missing.

² The Small Bureau was set up on July 18, 1919 from the membership of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and dealt mainly with technical and organisational questions. It continued as the Small Bureau until September 14, 1921.

No. 61

**From the President of the
Chinese National Government
Sun Yat-Sen to the People's
Commissariat of Foreign
Affairs of the Russian Soviet
Socialist Republic**

Canton, August 28, 1921

Dear Chicherin,

I have received your letter from Moscow dated October 31, 1920. It reached me on June 14, 1921. I delayed my reply because I desired to see the messenger who received the letter from you and who should have forwarded it to me in Harbin. Since the latter has not been able to come and see me so far in Canton, I have decided to reply to your fraternal greetings and proposals for the renewing of trade relations between Russia and China.

First of all I must inform you that this is the first and only letter received by me from you or anyone else from Soviet Russia. Over the last two years there have been several reports in the capitalist press alleging that I have received formal proposals from Moscow. No such proposals have been communicated to me either by letter or any other means. Should any of your colleagues have addressed or be addressing letters to me, kindly bear in mind that I have not received a single letter.

I must give you a brief account of the situation in China. I shall start with the years 1911-1912 when my political activity found decisive expression in the revolution which began in October 1911 and spread rapidly all over the country. The revolution led to the overthrowing of the Manchu dynasty and the founding of the Chinese Republic. I was elected president. After

carrying out these functions for a short period I handed over the post to Yuan Shih-kai, having been assured by my friends, whom I fully trusted and who were then far more knowledgeable than I on Chinese domestic affairs, that Yuan Shih-kai was capable of uniting the country and ensuring the stability of the Republic, since he enjoyed the trust of the foreign powers. My friends now admit that my retirement was a great political mistake as disastrous in its consequences for China as would be the case in Russia if Lenin were to be replaced by Kolchak, Yudenich or Wrangel in Moscow. Yuan immediately or shortly afterwards set about the task of restoring the monarchy with himself as the new emperor. As you are aware, we defeated this attempt.

Nevertheless after his death the great powers gave both political and financial support to a series of pseudo Cromwells and Napolcons. One of them is the ex-leader of a band of robbers by the name of Chang Tso-lin. Officially he is in command of the troops or military governor of Manchuria, but in actual fact he is the master to whom the Peking "government" is subservient. He in his turn pays service to Tokyo on all important matters concerning Japan. In the light of this it would be correct to say that Peking is in fact the instrument of Tokyo in all questions of high politics relating to vital Japanese interests. Moscow should take this factor well into consideration in all its official dealings with Peking. And only after a thorough purge in the capital which will take place when I enter it, can Soviet Russia hope for the renewal of friendly relations with China.

At the time when your letter was written I was elected president of the Nationalist Government set up in Canton. This government is a *de jure* government because: a) it derives its powers from the provisional constitution adopted by the First Constituent Assembly held in Nanking in 1912 and from the only existing Constituent Law of the Chinese Republic, and b) it was set up in accordance with a decision made by a competent authority invested with powers in accordance with the Constitution of the legitimate Chinese Parlia-

ment, which is at present meeting in Canton. My government is a *de facto* government, whose authority is recognised by a large group of provinces in South-West China and other provinces over which its jurisdiction extends.

At the present time geographical factors make it impossible for me to enter into effective trade relations with you. If you take a look at a map of China you will see that the territory under my government's jurisdiction lies to the south of the river Yangtze and that this territory is cut off from the Manchurian and Mongolian "gates", which are the only possible trade routes, by Chang Tso-lin and his allies. There do not and cannot exist any "gates" via Chinese Turkestan until the construction of a large railway, which forms part of my proposed system of railway communications in China.

Moscow will have to wait until I have finished dealing with the reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements which appear in any country immediately after a great revolution. Your own experience over the last three or four years will enable you to appreciate the enormity of the task which faces me. I have been occupied with it for the last nine or ten years. I hope to complete it very soon, if there is no active foreign intervention to prevent me. This is not very likely, since it concerns the Western Great Powers who seem to have had enough with Peking.

In the meantime I should like to make personal contact with you and your friends in Moscow. I am extremely interested in your activities, particularly in the organisation of your Soviets, army and education. I should like to know all that you and others can tell me about these things, especially about education. Like Moscow, I would like to lay the foundations of the Chinese Republic deep in the minds of the younger generation—the workers of tomorrow.

With best wishes to you and my friend Lenin, and to all those who have done so much for the cause of human freedom.

Yours sincerely,

Sun Yat-sen

P.S. This letter is being sent to you via the Soviet Trade Mission in London. If you receive it intact without any undue delay kindly let me know, in order that I may correspond with you in the future through the same channel. I have made arrangements to receive communications from Moscow the same way, if they are sent to your mission in London.

Bolshevik No. 19, 1950

No. 62

V. I. Lenin to
G. V. Chicherin

January 26, 1922

Comrade Chicherin,

Do you remember forwarding me a letter from Sun Yat-sen?

He then mentioned something about his *friendship* with me, and you asked me whether I knew him.¹

Was that letter addressed to you or to me?

Have you still got it in your archives? and my reply with your query?

If so, could you send it to me (to Fotiyeva's address)?

If not, what can you *remember* about it?

With Communist greetings,

Lenin

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Russ. ed., Vol. 54.

¹ Sun Yat-sen's letter was sent to Lenin on November 6, 1921 by G. V. Chicherin with a query asking whether Lenin was personally acquainted with Sun Yat-sen. Lenin replied to Chicherin on the following day that he and Sun Yat-sen had never met and that there had so far been no correspondence between them. (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol 54.)

No. 63

From the Delegate of the
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
to the 3rd Congress of the
Comintern

Moscow, September 3,
1921

Dear Comrade Lenin,

During one of the later sessions of the Third Congress you told me that you would like to see me again before I leave for America. The invitation was very much to my liking at the time; and now I feel that it is very necessary for me to see you before I go back to the United States. There are two or three points of a practical nature that I feel that I can adequately discuss with nobody but yourself. You must humour the American Party in its youth, if it seems to need a bit of extra attention.

I shall be obliged in a few days—maybe in about a week—to obey my Party's instructions to return to America, so I ask you to see me soon if you can possibly spare the time. I should have come to you before now, but only returned today from a three weeks' trip to the Volga famine district with Comrade Kalinin.

Don't disappoint me if you can help it. I shall await your answer at the Lux Hotel, room 142.

Yours with Communist greetings,
*James Ballister (Minor)*¹

Original
First publication

¹ Ballister, James Robert (1884-1952)—one of the leading figures of the socialist and later the communist movements in the U.S.A. Member of the Communist Party from 1920 and served on its Central Committee. Delegate to the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th congresses of the Comintern. Played an active part in party publications and was editor of the *Daily Worker*.

No. 64

From the American Marie Cohen

*New York, September 18,
1921*

Dear Comrade Lenin,

... I wish to attempt to tell you how ardently interested I have been (together with many numerous other Americans) in the most wonderful attempt at a just social order that the world has ever seen, due to your noble disinterested efforts in magnificent beloved Russia. There are millions of us here in the U.S.A. whose hearts are heating in unison with yours and your heroic colleagues, but unfortunately, we are not in the majority. Last year I worked untiringly to bring about the lifting of the blockade, as your comrades Martens and Nuorteva¹ can testify. If there is anything that I can possibly do today for you in America I would be most happy to carry out your wishes. I could reach influential persons in Harvard University to form a commission if you wish to establish decent relations between our country and yours.

In haste, but wishing you sincerely success for your matchless efforts for humanity, I am, with regards to Martens and Nuorteva,

Yours absolutely faithfully,

Marie R. Cohen

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ Nuorteva, A. F.—secretary of the Soviet representative in the U.S.A.

No. 65

From an American Journalist

*Nikolai Lenin,
Chairman of the Council of People's
Commissars
The Kremlin*

*Savoy Hotel, Room 106
Moscow, November 2, 1921*

I wrote you when I was in Riga and from Senator France and Martens I learned that you were good enough to respond by asking the Foreign Office to admit me. When I arrived you were in the country and since I have been putting off asking to see you knowing how busy you must have been upon your return.

In the last week I have had two cables from Mr. Hearst's organisation. He is anxious that I see you and write an article immediately for *Hearst's Magazine*. Do you suppose you could find a few minutes within the next week when I could have a brief talk with you?

The plan which I put up to Mr. Martens in America and then to Mr. Hearst of making Russia known through the medium of the magazines, the newspapers and the motion pictures has rather broken down due to the long delay in getting in and the equally long delay in getting the necessary permits to work. Mr. Hearst is complaining that the things I am sending for the magazines are already covered by the newspaper correspondents. He wants something individual and most of all he wants you. I have his word that anything I may quote you as saying shall be published in verbatim.

If you know the American publicity field you know that the big magazines have more influence in forming public opinion in certain quarters than the daily press. I suppose everyone who has come from America thinks he knows the situation in his own country and has things which he would like to say to you. As I see it

the problem of bringing about effective co-operation on a scale large enough to meet Russia's present need is going to be a gigantic task, and the forming of a new American public opinion an important part of the job. There are certain individual men who could play a very large part and no one of them is of more importance than Mr. Hearst. By seeing me as a magazine writer you will not break your precedent of refusal to receive the representatives of newspapers. The two fields are different.

Naturally, as an individual to whom Russia and the Russian revolution has been the chief interest since I left here in 1918 I am personally eager to see you again and hope you may be able to give me that privilege.

Sincerely,

*Bessie Beatty*¹

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Original

First publication

¹ Beatty, Bessie—an American journalist, was received by Lenin on December 3, 1921.

No. 66

From Robert B. Frye¹

To Premier Nikolai Lenin

Colorado, October 4, 1921

Dear Sir,

Enclosed find copy of my United States patent for Plant Protector, which, along with my compliments, permit me to present to you and your people, in testimony of the warm sympathy and gratitude I feel for your people who came to our relief with their fleet of war ships during our civil war from 1861 to 1865, which so surprised the British fleet, which had anchored in New York harbor to shell New York City, that they hoisted their anchors and faded away. The great masses of America have not forgotten this. I'm a veteran of the Civil War and was left on the field for dead; recovered and kept a prisoner for nine months.

I'm in my 81st year of age, and know what war is. With the present of my Plant Protector I also extend to you the right to give to your people . . . the benefit of my Protector at your discretion. . . . All I wish in return, is that it may benefit your people, and that you acknowledge the receipt of it and send me your photograph; also Mr. Trotsky; also present my greetings and

¹ At the bottom of the letter Lenin wrote: "Send to Trotsky and Haywood (Comintern) for information and return to me. 15.XI. Lenin." The letter also bears a note by Haywood: "Many thanks. Wm. D. Haywood." (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 54.)

good wishes to Wm. D. Haywood. With kindest wishes for the realisation of your most ardent hopes for yourself and people, I remain your sincere friend

Robert B. Frye

*2731 Orman Avenue, Pueblo, Colorado,
U.S.A.*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

No. 67

**Lenin's Instructions
to N. P. Gorbunov**

To Comrade Gorbunov

November 15, 1921

1) Circulate Frye's letter as I have indicated and check its *return*.

2) Remind me when it is returned.

3) Send the rest to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture for comment; tell them *not to lose it* and send it back to me *quickly*.¹

15/XI. Lenin

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Russ. ed., Vol. 54.

¹ Frye's invention was not approved by a Special Commission of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 54.)

No. 68

From Anatole France

*5, Villa Saïd
November 19, 1921*

Comrade Lenin,

This note is to introduce you to a friend of yours and mine, Julien Veiller, who is going to Russia to negotiate some important trade matters of benefit to the Soviet Government.

I am taking advantage of the opportunity afforded me, Comrade Lenin, to express my respect and admiration for your character and outstanding genius.

Anatole France

Literaturnaya Gazeta, April 22,
1964

No. 69

From the Congress of Korean
Workers' Unions

*To Comrade Lenin from the Delegates
of the 1st All-Russia Constituent
Congress of Korean Workers' Unions*

December 15, 1921

The 1st All-Russia Constituent Congress of Korean Workers' Unions¹ sends greetings through your person to the leaders of the world proletariat and, recording your great deeds for the liberation of the oppressed, vows to follow the precepts of the Great October Revolution.

Presidium (signatures)

C.P.A. I.M.L.
First publication

¹ A Union of Korean Workers was founded by the Korean Communists in Moscow in 1920. It served as a model for the setting up of similar unions in Rostov-on-Don, Kharkov, Novonikolayevsk, Tashkent, Kurgan and other towns. The unions' main aim was to organise the Korean working masses on the territory of Soviet Russia.

No. 70

From Robin Dunbar

*N. Lenin,
President of the Commissars of Soviet Russia
Moscow*

*California, December 13,
1921*

Dear Comrade,

Your brochure "*Left-Wing*" Communism—an *Infantile Disorder* made so great an impression on me that I rejoined the Socialist Party here, after many years fooling with Left-wingism. It is a clear-cut analytical calm discussion and convinced me if I wanted to be of help to my fellow socialists I must get into the harness and help pull the load with the rest of them instead of standing along the roadside criticising. The publisher, Williams of the Vancouver Federationist, was congratulated by me for his courage in printing it. He thanked me for my words, and then . . . got arrested for printing it! He felt sorry it didn't get a larger circulation; only 1,000 copies being called for, he said, and they selling slowly. No matter; great circulations betoken light and ephemeral subject matter.

I wish you could read my drama, *Ivan and Anna: A Drama of the Russian Revolution in Four Acts*. It may lack atmosphere and convincingness as to locale a bit, but it doesn't lack fire and bold portraitures. If you liked it, you might take steps to set it going in Russia and in the world. No one here wants to touch it apparently. I have written Comrades in Germany about it and in Russia, but so far no answer,—so I bethought me of addressing you as a man who does things. If my letter reaches you, I am confident it will receive attention.

Yours for socialism in spite of hardships, and trusting Russia will pass through the famine with a minimum of suffering, and wishing for proletarian dictatorships everywhere, I am, my dear Comrade,

Fraternally yours,

Robin Dunbar

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original
First publication

No. 71

From the Communist Party
of America

December 31, 1921

Comrade Lenin,

Mary Heaton Vorse, the author of *Men and Steel* and a well-known American writer, will be returning to America next Thursday. She is a member of the Communist Party of America and has been authorised by our Party to write a series of articles about Russia. These articles will appear not only in communist newspapers, but in the newspapers of the federal press, an association which unites about 200 working-class newspapers and "liberal" journals over which we exercise control.

It seems to me that if you could inform her personally of anything you consider advisable before her departure, this would help to promote a sympathetic attitude to Russia and to the activities of our American Party.

Mary Heaton will be very pleased to come at any time you care to appoint between today and Thursday for as long as is convenient for you.

With Communist greetings,

Yours,

J. Lear

*Member of the Executive Committee of
the Communist International representing the
Communist Party of America*

N.B. The fact that Vorse is a member of the Party should not be divulged for obvious tactical considerations.

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the Russian

First publication

No. 72

From Charles P. Steinmetz¹

Schenectady, N.Y.,
February 16, 1922

My dear Mr. Lenin,

"Return to me"²

Mr. B. W. Losev's³ return to Russia gives me an opportunity to express to you my admiration of the wonderful work of social and industrial regeneration which Russia is accomplishing under such terrible difficulties.

I wish you the fullest success and have every confidence that you will succeed. Indeed, you must succeed, for the great work which Russia has started must not be allowed to fail.

If in technical and more particularly in electrical engineering matters I can assist Russia in any manner with advice, suggestion or consultation, I shall always be very pleased to do so as far as I am able.

Fraternally yours,

Charles P. Steinmetz

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ Steinmetz, Charles Proteus (1865-1923)—one of the electrical geniuses of the United States. Born in Germany which he was forced to leave in order to avoid arrest for his activities in the working-class movement.

² Note made by Lenin.

³ An engineer returning from emigration.

No. 73

**Lenin's Reply
to Charles P. Steinmetz**

Moscow, April 10, 1922

Dear Mr. Steinmetz,

Many thanks for your kind letter of February 16, 1922. I am ashamed to confess that I first heard your name only a few months ago from Comrade Krzhizhansky who was chairman of our State Commission for the Electrification of Russia and is now chairman of the State Planning Commission. He told me of the leading position which you hold among the world's electrical engineering experts.

I have since learned more about you from Comrade Martens. I gather from what he said that your friendly interest in Soviet Russia springs from your social and political convictions on the one hand. On the other hand, as an electrical engineering expert in one of the most technically developed countries you believe it essential and inevitable that capitalism should be replaced by a new social order which would institute a planned economy and ensure the well-being of the masses by the electrification of whole countries. All over the world there is an increase—slower than one would wish, but firm and steady nevertheless in the number of specialists in science, technology and the arts, who believe in the inevitability of capitalism being replaced by a different socio-economic order, and whom the "terrible difficulties" of Soviet Russia's struggle against the whole capitalist world do not put off or frighten, but rather convince them of the inevitability of the struggle and the need to take an active part in it in order to help replace the old by the new.

I should particularly like to thank you for your offer to assist Russia with advice, suggestions, etc. Since the

absence of official, legally sanctioned relations between Soviet Russia and the United States makes it extremely difficult for both of us to take practical advantage of your offer, I propose to take the liberty of publishing your letter and my reply in the hope that many people in America or in countries that are parties to trade agreements both with the United States and with Russia will assist you (by providing information, translations from Russian into English, etc.) in carrying out your intention to help the Soviet republic.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Lenin

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Russ. ed., Vol. 45.

No. 74

From the Workers of Verona

To Nikolai Lenin

The Kremlin, Moscow

February 18, 1922

The workers of Verona wish you and the whole Soviet Government many years of happiness.

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

No. 75

From the Worker S. Kane

*Milwaukee, February 26,
1922*

Dear Sir and Comrades,

We approve of your decision not to accept or give any promises to the degenerate capitalists and scoundrels. Do not believe that we are sleeping over here. We do not believe what is written in the subsidised capitalist press against Russia and you. We believe that Russia is no longer the paradise for parasites, exploiters, scoundrels and the like that this country is, although the dawn of a new day is beginning here as well.

It takes a while for the masses to realise where their interests lie. . . .

Keep on in the good work for a free world for the workers. We workers are with you and are doing our best for the good cause.

Fraternally,

Sousi A. Kane

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

No. 76

From the French
Delegation at the Extended
Plenum of the Executive
Committee of the
Comintern

Moscow, March 6, 1922

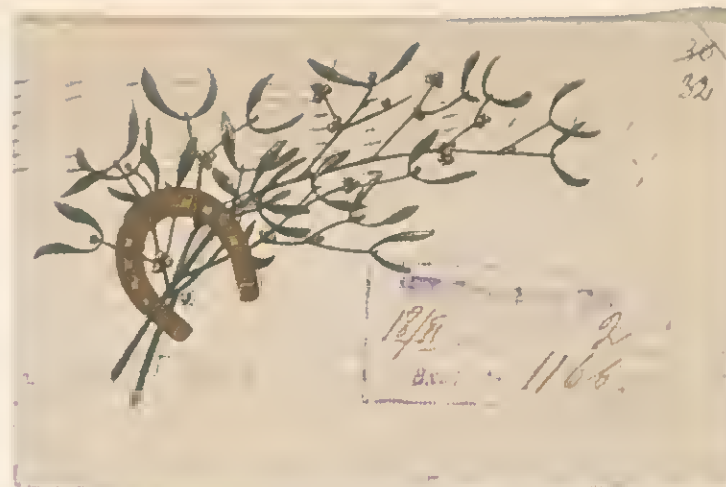
Dear Comrade,

Before leaving Moscow the French delegation to the meeting of the enlarged Executive Committee¹ wishes to express its deep regret that for reasons of health you were unable to take part in our work.

The delegates send you their warmest wishes for a speedy recovery, and reaffirm their unswerving loyalty to the Russian revolution.

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

¹ The first extended Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern was held in Moscow from February 21 to March 4, 1922. This letter was signed by Marcel Cachin and the other members of the French delegation.



Postcard to Lenin from the workers of Verona

No. 77

From a Cologne Worker

Moscow, April 11, 1922

Dear Comrade Lenin,

So that you should know who is writing to you I enclose a cutting from the Cologne newspaper *Sozialistische Republik*. From this you will see that I was appointed delegate to Russia by a group of workers. When I was leaving Cologne my workmates shouted after me: "Regards to Lenin!" This must have meant: regards to the Russian proletariat, because we all appreciate that it is extremely difficult to just drop in and see you for very good reasons. However, in spite of this I decided there and then that I would pass these greetings on to you personally—and what's more I nearly managed to do so.

This morning I visited your flat. And it's quite something, Comrade Lenin, that I was allowed into your room armed with only two slips of paper which said nothing about my having permission to see you. What would the bourgeoisie think of that!

Comrade Lenin, if you don't want me to convey the greetings to you personally, I will do it by this letter. But I do ask you to confirm that you have received it.

With Communist greetings,

Eich

Address: Wilhelm Eich, Room 32, Hotel Lux, Moscow

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the German

First publication

No. 78

From an American Professor
of History

*Nikolai Lenine,
Genoa, Italy¹*

*Tucson, Arizona
March 21, 1922*

Dear Mr. Lenin,

As an aid in the teaching of History, I have collected numerous letters and photographs from men who have been big factors in the forming of History, in this great history making epoch. I have been able to secure autographed photographs from the leading men of the majority of the nations; but so far I have been unable to secure any autographed photographs from the leading men of Russia or Germany. It is for this purpose that I am writing to you. I would like very much to obtain one of your autographed photographs for my "History Collection". For fear that you will not have any photographs at hand, I am sending you under separate cover, a photograph. I realise it is a very inferior photograph, but your pictures are very difficult to obtain in this country.

I do not desire to obtain your photograph for its commercial value; but for the educational value it will be as an addition to my "History Collection". In fact that is the purpose of my entire collection; the educational value that may be derived from it. At the present I use this collection as an aid in the teaching of History for it creates an interest in that study; enables

¹ In addressing this letter to Genoa, the writer obviously thought that Lenin would be attending the Genoa Conference.

the students to recognise the photographs of prominent men. Then in time I realise it will be of Historic interest, to be placed in an educational institution's museum.

Trusting that you will autograph this photograph¹ so that it may go in my "History Collection" I am,

Yours very respectfully,

Professor Virgil G. Russell

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

First publication

¹ Lenin autographed this photograph on April 27, 1922 and on April 28 it was sent off to Professor Russell. A note to this effect was made on the Russian translation of this letter by the secretary of the Council of People's Commissars.

No. 79

From the British Economist
John Maynard Keynes

46, Gordon Square,
Bloomsbury, London,
May 12, 1922

Dear Mr. Lenin,

You will probably have received by now a letter which I forwarded to you through the instrumentality of Mr. Tchicherin while I was staying in Genoa.

In this letter I expressed the hope that you might perhaps be able to find time to write a Foreword to the articles from Soviet sources which will be published in the forthcoming *Manchester Guardian Supplement* to be issued on June 22 next.

Since writing that letter I have been considering the matter further, and am now clearer as to what the other articles are likely to be. The result has been to make me clearer than before in my own mind that one of the most important topics for Europe to discuss and consider is the right attitude and reaction of us in the West towards the activities of the Soviet Power. I have some articles from American sources on this, and also a rather striking article from Mr. Maxim Gorki. I hope to contribute, myself, something on the same lines.

I venture, therefore, to write once again to suggest that an article from yourself, covering this rather general topic, would be very valuable from several points of view. The technicians will no doubt deal adequately with the technical questions. But quite apart from technical questions, the mind of the world at large is,

I think, very much confused at present as to the mental attitude with which Russia and the rest of the world ought to contemplate one another.

Yours very truly,

J. M. Keynes

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

First publication

No. 80

From August Babel

*To the Embassy of the Russian
Republic in Berlin*

*47 Bahnhofstrasse,
Guben, Lower Lusatia,
June 4, 1922*

Since the newspapers are constantly writing about the ill health of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade Lenin, one may assume that they contain a grain of truth. For this reason I consider it my duty to send you the enclosed two pamphlets, in order to direct your *attention* to methods of treatment which are capable of curing any disease amenable to treatment.

I request you to pass these booklets on to Comrade Lenin, and should like to draw your attention to the fact that we have a very eminent homeopath in our party in the person of R. Ponsong, a teacher in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

If you or anyone else should reply to me I should be grateful if the letter were put in an ordinary envelope in order not to attract anyone's attention and involve me in any trouble.

Yours very respectfully,

August Babel

C.P.A. I.M.I.
Translated from the Russian
First publication

No. 81

From the General Secretary
of the Communist Party
of Great Britain

*Comrade N. Lenin,
Moscow*

September 19, 1922

Dear Comrade,

At a meeting of the national Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, held on Saturday and Sunday last, the following resolution was passed:

"Warmest greetings, dear comrade, on your recovery from your recent serious illness.

"To-day, when the working masses of the world are once again being driven to the shambles by the imperialists and financiers to further the ends of capitalist exploitation, they will be stiffened in their resistance by the news of your recovery and the consciousness that the leader of the world revolution is once more active in their ranks.

"Here in Great Britain, despite many divisions in working-class ranks, tens of thousands of workers are at one in rejoicing that you are once more able to resume your work of furthering the cause of international working class emancipation.

"The Communist Party of Great Britain in particular will find new inspiration for its work in the common cause."

With Communist greetings,

*Albert Inkpin¹
General Secretary*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ Inkpin, Albert (1884-1944)—one of the leading figures in the English working-class and communist movements and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain from 1920 to 1929.

No. 82

From A. A. Heller¹

November 20, 1922

Highly respected Vladimir Ilyich,

Forgive me for making so bold as to ask you to read my book, which has just been published in New York, *The Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia*.² This book is the result of my observations in Russia last year: I was in Siberia with Rutgers' mission and in the Urals with Martens.

I am not a writer by profession; but my 30 years of experience in industry and trade, together with my 30 years of activity in the socialist movement have enabled me, I trust, to understand the present position in Soviet Russia. This position—as I found it a very difficult one, but with every chance of success—I have attempted to present to the American public. I do not know how useful my modest attempt will be to Soviet Russia, but the desire to help in bringing together Soviet Russia and America inspired me to write it.

I venture to hope that you will find my book worthy of your attention.

With comradely greetings I remain,
the servant of revolutionary Russia,

A. Heller

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Translated from the Russian

First publication

¹ Heller, A. A. (b. 1892)—one of the founders and the director of International Publishers. Author of a number of books on the Soviet Union and an active member of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society. Visited the U.S.S.R. on several occasions.

² Heller's brochure *The Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia* is to be found in Lenin's library in the Kremlin. The fly-leaf bears the following written inscription: "To the deeply revered leader of the world proletariat, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, with devotion and love. A. Heller. New York, Nov. 18/22."

No. 83

Letter from V. I. Lenin to
Constantino Lazzari

The Kremlin, Moscow

December 11, 1922

Dear Comrade Lazzari,

Thank you for your greetings which were conveyed to me by Comrade Maffi and which I reciprocate wholeheartedly.

Illness, unfortunately, prevented me from following your work after the Third Congress of the Communist International. Now comes the most delicate task. The question of amalgamation has been decided by the Congress; it is now essential that everything possible should be done to effect the amalgamation.¹ I am sure that all your authority and enthusiasm as an old and dedicated revolutionary will be devoted to serving this great aim which we are setting ourselves—the firm and sincere uniting of all true revolutionaries.

I am counting on you particularly if Serrati should start, perhaps even unintentionally, to create obstacles: the mistrust conditioned by the past is so great that he is bound to be not only as loyal as possible (this goes without saying), but to demonstrate this in every way and, in addition, to look for all possible means (he is

¹ Lenin is referring to the resolution adopted by the 4th Congress of the Comintern on the Italian question, which provided for the amalgamation of the Italian Communist and Socialist parties. The amalgamation did not take place at that time. In 1924 individual groups of socialists which comprised the Left wing of the Italian Socialist Party broke away from it and joined the Communist Party.

sufficiently clever and versatile for this) of avoiding giving the Communists grounds for mistrusting him. Unfortunately my illness prevented me from telling Serrati this personally.

With my best wishes for your good health and warmest regards,

Lenin

Memo for *Fotiyeva* or the secretary on duty

Type this out *correcting my* French and return to me.

Lenin

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*,
Russ. ed., Vol. 54

No. 84

Constantino Lazzari's Reply
to V. I. Lenin

Rome, January 2, 1923

My dear Lenin,

I have just received your dear letter of the 12th last¹ and thank you warmly for the confidence which you have shown me, whilst deeply regretting that the illness from which you are suffering does not allow you to take an active hand in the Italian situation.

Yes, I shall do all that is in my power to help carry out the task set for us by the World Congress. You are right in saying that the amalgamation between us and the Italian Communists is difficult . . . but I shall work towards it with all my strength.

It is a pity, however, that the Congress's resolution should contain an insurmountable obstacle for me and my friends: this is the changing of the simple and historical name of the Italian Socialist Party which is so dear to us. This obstacle was dealt with when Maffi, Riboldi and I were in Moscow: I remember that you, Trotsky, Zinoviev and the others all gave us to understand that it was a formal point. The main question was that of the expulsion of reformists and we have dealt with this; why then return to this condition now which is the most difficult and unacceptable one for the honest Italian worker?

What wrongs have been committed by this party, which for forty years has worked to give strength and will to the Italian proletariat, which has stood up to and endured three great persecutions by the bourgeois state, which fought against the colonial and imperialist war of 1911, which did not yield to the exigencies of the 1914-1918 World War, which struggled against the quasi-International in Brussels, which gave rebirth to

¹ Lenin's letter was written on December 11, 1922 and dispatched on December 12.

the spirit of internationalism at Zimmerwald, which has always firmly supported the Russian revolution and has always defended the honour and the interests of the Republic of the Soviets—what has this party done to deserve being deprived of its title so widely known and loved by the Italian workers?

In order to justify this measure which is not at all necessary for the aims of the International, one would have to say or infer that there is a difference between socialism and communism, and I shall never say anything so stupid.

To change the name of the ideal goal which we have before us would simply lead to the further disorientation of the masses, weaken the strength of our organisation and give the reformists a chance to make use of the occasion to regain the standing of which we deprived them. We would thus be bringing a weakness to the alliance, whereas at the moment, and in our present state, we can bring strength to it and balance the collaborationist tendencies which exist even among the Italian Communists—the communist deputies in 1921 voted for government taxes, to which I was strongly opposed. For all these reasons and many more I shall always refuse the proposal to change our name, which would force us to condemn the past in which we should take pride, even in spite of the errors which the reformists, who then preponderated in the party, led us to commit. Question of pride should be respected in politics as well!

Furthermore, when organisations are being amalgamated one has, in my opinion, to follow the natural and logical process if one wants to obtain an advantage: we are the superior force, the original trunk, and the communist branch which detached itself and was never repulsed by us, must join onto us. By requiring that we should change our name the Congress would be forcing us to enter the Italian Communist Party, which is ridiculous and out of the question, because here the container is always larger than the contents. There is a perfectly good reason why you have called your great republic *socialist* and not communist!

We appreciate the need for changing the name in countries where the socialist party has allied itself with the bourgeoisie, but this has never been the case in Italy, where socialism has always been the enemy of capitalism and as such is known and loved by the workers of the town and country alike. By renouncing this moral reputation which we have built up through forty years of struggle, we would lose the foundation of our true political influence and you could not possibly want that to happen!

It follows, therefore, that you must not insist on the name being changed: the amalgamation will be the natural result of friendly relations which it should be possible to establish by parallel political and syndicalist action. In my opinion for the moment (particularly at the present time which is so difficult) and in order to preserve existing forces, the fact that the Italian International section is composed of two groups, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party... should not present any difficulty. I remember the Germans being represented in Moscow by three separate groups.

As for Serrati, knowing his bohemian temperament I also doubt the reliability of his behaviour, but I do not think he will be able to interfere with the practical steps we shall take to come to an agreement with the Communists.

I very much hope that you will recognise the soundness of my argument which is inspired by revolutionary love for our movement, and just as we recognise the great importance of your knowledge of the spirit of the Russian people in order to bring the great task of your noble life to a happy conclusion, we trust that you will credit us with knowing the spirit of the Italian people who asks nothing more than to serve the great cause of social revolution,

My warmest wishes for your speedy recovery,

Fraternally yours,

Constantino Lazzari

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French
original
First publication

No. 35

Message of Greeting from
the Polish Communists

*Not earlier than December
1922*

The All-Union Meeting of the Polish bureaus sends its warm gratitude to the beloved leader of the international proletariat, Comrade *Lenin*. In the name of the many thousand Polish Communists who under your leadership, dear Comrade, fought in many a battle for the victory and defence of the Russian revolution against its external and internal enemies, and who at the present time are working for the strengthening of the Party and the Soviet Republic, a mighty lever of World Revolution, we send you our heartfelt wish that you should return to your creative work as leader as soon as possible and lead us on to final victory.

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the Russian
First publication

No. 86

From the Central Committee
of the Communist Party
of Great Britain

London, March 29, 1923

Dear Comrade Lenin,

It is with profound joy and relief that we receive the news that your health is so far improved that we may look forward to your complete and speedy recovery.

For us, dear comrade, you stand out as a personal type and symbol of the courage, virility and endurance of our brothers the triumphant Communist Party of Russia. Not only so, but as the accepted leader of the heroic toiling masses of Russia and their Workers' State, you stand (in their behalf) as a sign that, led by your example, all the workers of the world may win deliverance. Because you are the leader of the revolutionary workers of the world, you are singled out for the calumnies and execration of the bourgeoisie of the whole world. In the name of "Lenin" the conscience-stricken bourgeoisie everywhere hear the voice of Fate decreeing their universal overthrow. And because that is so in every mass assembly of workers—even in this backward land of Britain, where the bourgeoisie have their strongest hold—the name of "Lenin" never fails to provoke the heart-felt and enthusiastic applause with which the workers salute a brave champion of their cause.

The British workers do not yet understand enough to adopt our communist programme and tactics, but they know enough to salute in you and your comrades the Russian workers and peasants, those who have done mighty deeds in the vanguard of the workers' battle for liberation.

More especially do we of the British Communist Party feel concern at your loss of health and the suffering you have undergone. The bullet that wounded you and the Brain that directed it could never have reached the point of doing you harm had we been strong enough to have overthrown the brutal British Imperialism which sought to drown the Proletarian Revolution in the blood of its champions. Because we were weak you and your comrades in Russia bled and hungered. It is therefore, to us, a point of honour to at the earliest moment place ourselves in a position to give the only possible reparation—that of freeing the world from the possibility of a repetition of this crime.

Not only for the world's proletariat and its champion, the Communist International, but for ourselves—who failed to overthrow the British bourgeoisie—we rejoice to learn that they failed to achieve all they had set their evil hearts upon.

We rejoice at your recovery and look forward to the day when Lenin, the Leader of the most revolutionary Workers' State, will be able on the soil of Britain, to welcome the inauguration of the Soviet Republic, not only of Britain, but of the world.

With Communist greetings,
on behalf of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Great Britain
Yours fraternally,

Thomas Bell
Political Secretary

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ Bell, Thomas (1882-1940)—an English worker and one of the leaders of the working-class movement in Great Britain. In 1920 he took part in the organisation of the British Communist Party. He was a member of the Party's Political Bureau and Political Secretary of its Central Committee.

No. 87

From the 8th Congress of German Communist Youth

April 5, 1928

Dear Comrade Lenin,

We have been following the course of your illness with great anxiety. Now we are working and struggling in the hope of seeing you soon fit and strong again at the head of the militant working class of the whole world. We, the working youth of Germany, are today faced with an especially difficult test. The fight against fascism which is brazenly raising its ugly head all around and the mobilisation of the proletarian youth against its enslavement demand all our young fighting power. But in the struggle we are learning to answer the enemy blow for blow. Our spirit is upheld by this aim: to draw into our ranks the militant vanguard of the German working class, the working youth, under our banner, under the banner of world revolution, and to educate it for the coming final onslaught on capitalism.

In the conviction that our progress which is advancing slowly but surely, is serving the great cause which you have taught us, we vow to increase our energy and will tenfold on the path to victory through battle.

With Communist greetings,

*the 8th Congress
of German Communist Youth*

Translated from the German
original

No. 88

**From the Moravian
Women Communists**

Morava, October 1923

Comrade Lenin,

The Moravian women Communists are sending you as a token of their devotion, love and gratitude for the great sacrifices which you have made for the concept of World Internationalism, the embroidered text of the "hymn of the working class" made by their own hands.¹

We wish you the fullest recovery and many more years of life for the benefit of our generation and our children.

Morava. Czechoslovakia.

*Women's Secretariat of the Communist
Party of Czechoslovakia (signatures)*

Kommunist No. 3, 1960

¹ The embroidered text of the *Internationale* in Czech is in the Lenin Museum in Moscow.

Part Three
**COMRADES-
IN-
ARMS**

The 2nd Congress of the Comintern was held in Petrograd from July 19 to August 7, 1920. Delegates to the Congress were tremendously impressed by their personal meeting with Lenin, who officially received 42 delegates from 20 countries. At one of the sessions the delegates decided to express their views on Vladimir Ilyich in writing. The album with these entries is now in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The entries are reproduced below (some in slightly abbreviated form) in the order in which they appear in the album. They were first published in *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 2, 1958, pp. 9-23.

No. 89

Lenin, simplest, most human; and yet most far-seeing and immovable.

Lenin—the locomotive of history.

*John Reed*¹

*Communist Labour Party
(America)*

¹ Reed, John (1887-1920)—an American journalist who came to Russia in 1917 as a war correspondent, joined the Bolsheviks and took part in the Great October Socialist Revolution. In his foreword to Reed's book *Ten Days that Shook the World* Lenin wrote that it "gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution." John Reed became one of the founders of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. He died in Moscow in 1920 and was buried in Red Square by the Kremlin wall.

No. 90

Last year President Wilson was seen as the great peacemaker. His name echoed all round the world. But his ephemeral creation collapsed before it even had time to take shape and his false glory faded away like a breath of smoke. Why so? Because only a madman could hope to build a temple to Peace on the foundation of the capitalist regime, that is to say, war.

Today the name of Lenin is on everyone's lips throughout the universe. The oppressors murmur it with terror; the oppressed place all their hopes on it. The former have good cause to tremble; the latter have good cause to feel confident. For the irresistible force of *Communism*, of which Lenin is the brain, will vanquish all evil forces, will give tortured Humanity eternal well-being, security, freedom, peace and, in an infinite ascent, will elevate it to the highest peaks of intellectual and moral culture.

And this is why the name of Lenin will never be effaced from human memory.

Lucien Deslinières¹

With profound emotion I welcome the great Lenin.

Gabrielle Deslinières

Moscow, July 30, 1920

¹ Deslinières, Lucien (1857-1937)—a French socialist, economist and writer. At the beginning of his career he supported the bourgeois republic. In 1892 he joined the French Workers' Party. In 1905 he became a member of the French Socialist Party. He played an active role in the socialist press and was the author of a series of works on socialist theory. During the First World War he was a social-chauvinist. He came to Russia in 1917 (before the October Revolution). After the Revolution he stayed on in Soviet Russia working for the government, in particular at the Ukrainian People's Commissariat of Agriculture. In 1920 he began to work at the Executive Committee of the Comintern. After returning to France in the mid-twenties he adopted an anti-Marxist position.



The Lenin Album containing tributes to him from delegates to the Second Congress of the Comintern

No. 91

Lenin—the mental dynamo of communism.

E. W. MacAlpin
(Ireland)

No. 92

Lenin has brought about in the political sphere an even more powerful revolution than that which took place in industry as a result of the invention of the steam engine. His participation in the world proletarian revolution has accelerated the course of history by half a century. He is the most astounding motive force the world has ever known. And, let us admit it, he is the greatest “profiteer” from the war.

*Jacques Sadoul*¹
French delegate

¹ Sadoul, Jacques (1881-1956)—officer in the French army and member of the French Socialist Party who sided with the social-chauvinists: his mother took part in the French Commune. In 1917 he was sent to Russia as a member of the French Military Mission. Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution he became a supporter of communist ideas, joined the French Section of the Russian Communist Party (B.) and volunteered for the Red Army. He took part in the 1st Congress of the Comintern. Sentenced to death *in absentia* by the French military tribunal for his revolutionary activities, but acquitted on his return to France in 1924. Continued to be an active fighter for peace and friendship among nations.

On December 29, 1917 (January 11, 1918, Old Style) Jacques Sadoul, member of the French Military Mission in Russia, was received by Lenin.

No. 93

The great philosopher and author of a number of books about the founding of the new world, Karl Marx, departed from us without seeing his ideas put into practice. The great fighter, philosopher and victorious hero, Lenin, has turned the theoretical outline for the building of a new world into reality, and made it fully accessible to mankind.

The Orient has witnessed many cruel invasions; it has patiently endured bloodshed, the devastating raids of hordes of greedy conquerors, invasions and catastrophes. But Lenin has treated the Orient with complete trust and respect and directed it onto the true and happy path.

Of all the people who are concerned about the fate of the oppressed Lenin is the greatest. Lenin is the defender of human freedom and love. Lenin is the enemy of those who own luxurious palaces and castles, and the great friend of the ordinary, simple people who huddle together in the slums.

Lenin is an experienced revolutionary at the head of the new state machine of workers and peasants, which has emerged victorious over its enemies.

The workers and peasants of Turkey give a tumultuous ovation to Lenin as a great leader and a great augur for the future.

Lenin is the most benevolent, noblest and greatest person of our age. With what respect he is remembered by the oppressed workers of the whole world. And the nations living in the East, the oriental peoples oppressed by Europe, hail Lenin as the purest and most splendid of all the sacred figures of history. Lenin—the great thinker and man of action and the workers' greatest friend.

Ismail Hakkî¹

Turkish delegate

July 28, 1920

¹ Hakkî, İsmail (b. 1901)—delegate to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern from the Central Bureau of the Turkish Communist

Lenin, simplest, most human, and
yet most far-seeing and invincible
John Reed

John Reed's entry in the Lenin Album
compiled at the Second Congress of the
Comintern

No. 94

Moscow, August 5, 1920

The Russian proletariat has good cause to be proud of Comrade Lenin and should count itself extremely fortunate to have had Lenin in its midst during this revolutionary age when he was most needed.

The working class of other nations has not been so fortunate and, gazing today with admiration at the work which has been accomplished in Russia under his spiritual guidance, must truly envy the Russian proletariat that it has Lenin.

A. Zápotocký¹

*Secretary of the workers' organisations in
Kladno, delegate of the "Marxist Left"
of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic
Party*

Party. A former prisoner of war who remained in the U.S.S.R. Member of the C.P.S.U.(B.) since 1920. Studied at the Communist University for Workers of the East, completed his post-graduate studies there in 1929 and became a teacher. Held the office of chairman of the Muslim Bureau of the Transcaspian region and served as a member of the Transcaspian regional committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

¹ Zápotocký, Antonín (1884-1957)—an eminent figure in the Czechoslovak working-class movement. Joined the Social-Democratic Party in 1902, and moved over to its Left wing in 1919. Member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee since the Party's founding in 1921. Delegate to the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th congresses of the Comintern. On August 18, 1920 Zápotocký was received by Lenin. From 1922 to 1929 held the post of secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. From 1929 to 1939 he was general secretary of the revolutionary Czechoslovak trade unions. Spent the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia in prisons and concentration camps.

No. 95

It is clear from your example, Comrade, that the proletarian revolution needs not only the objective social conditions, but also creative bearers of ideas, individuals who are both penetrating and brilliant in spirit and also prepared for revolutionary action.

Vanek¹

Member of the Editorial Board of the newspaper "Pravo lidu", delegate of the "Marxist Left" of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party

No. 96

Let us fight to the last through all obstacles with Lenin as our leader.

B. Mula

Editor of the Kladno newspaper "Svoboda", delegate of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party (Left wing)

After the liberation of Czechoslovakia he became one of the leading figures in the Communist Party and the People's Democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia. President of the Republic from 1952 to 1957.

¹ Vanek, M.—member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Pravo lidu* and delegate to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern from the "Marxist Left" of the Social-Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia. On August 18, 1920 Vanek was received by Lenin.

No. 97

Lenin is great not only because he possesses remarkable gifts and outstanding talent, but also because he has devoted all his ability and all his life to serving one great cause—the liberation of the world proletariat from the capitalist yoke.

He is great because of the great deeds performed by the working class and the struggle of millions of oppressed workers fighting for their freedom and the freedom of all mankind from all tyranny and slavery.

Long live Lenin!

Long live the world revolution!

N. Shablin

on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International

Moscow, July 27, 1920

No. 98

The noblest representative of humanity.

(signature)

(India)

No. 99

Both a theoretician and a man of action, Lenin is now the greatest figure in the world working-class movement.

Marcel Cachin¹

¹ Cachin, Marcel (1869-1958)—an eminent figure in the French and international working-class movement and one of the founder members and leaders of the French Communist Party. Attend-

No. 100

A strong man who roused new hope in the hearts of the peoples of the East too, and whose life was a constant practical demonstration of the saying "A just man and therefore a brave one".

H. Maring

*Representative of the Dutch East Indies
(Java)*

No. 101

I should like to express my deep admiration for the great revolutionary who led Russia to socialism and who will draw the proletariat of the whole world onto the same path.

*L. Frossard*¹

ed the Second Congress of the Comintern as a delegate of the French Social-Democratic Party, and was received by Lenin on July 28, 1920. In 1920 he became a member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the French Communist Party. In 1924 he was appointed member of the Executive Committee and later member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Permanent director of the central organ of the French Communist Party *l'Humanité*. Constantly taken to court by the government and served terms of imprisonment. During the Nazi occupation of France he was one of the leaders of the Resistance Movement.

¹ Frossard, Ludovic-Oscar (b. 1889)—French socialist. At the beginning of 1920 he was a member of the committee appointed to re-establish the Second International. Assisted in the foundation of the French Communist Party. Broke with the communist movement in 1923 and went over to the reformists. Supported the Munich policy before the Second World War. Held the post of Minister of Information from 1939-1940. Openly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

No. 102

A man possessing the steel energy of the proletarian class and faith in the victory of the future. This is what Lenin means to mankind.

*J. Rahja*¹

*Representative of the Finnish
Communist Party*

No. 103

We are no lovers of fetishes and in our communist view of things isolated individuals act as landmarks in historical events and not as the driving force behind them. But when, as Engels remarked in connection with the death of Karl Marx, these individuals embody the mind of the age and the hopes of a class, they become sacred for mankind and history. Today Lenin personifies the age of the proletarian revolution and the struggle between oppressors and oppressed. His name is synonymous with protest, struggle and liberation.

¹ Rahja, Jukka—took part in the 1905-1907 Revolution. Member of the R.S.D.L.P. Carried on Party work in Kronstadt, Helsinki and St. Petersburg. Played an active part in the February Revolution of 1917. Member of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. After the Great October Revolution he organised the Finnish Red Guard. One of the founder members and leaders of the Communist Party of Finland from 1918. Delegate to the 1st and 2nd congresses of the Comintern. Killed by Finnish Whiteguards in Petrograd in 1920.

The bourgeois war did not have such a man. The proletarian revolution has raised him out of its own ranks. This is why the war is the destructive past and the revolution is the creative future.

G. M. Serrati¹

*Editor of the magazine "Avanti!"
(Milan, Italy)*

Moscow, July 26, 1920

No. 104

Lenin

In our Comrade Lenin we recognise not only a proletarian leader of courage and loyalty, but a great theoretician. To the struggling proletariat of the world Lenin symbolises the hope of the future. Everywhere the workers love and trust him. Were Lenin to come to London hundreds of thousands of the workers of the great metropolis would honour him and welcome him. The same could be said of every big city in the United Kingdom, and we believe the same could also be said of all the big cities of the world.

¹ Serrati, Giacinto Menotti (1872-1926)—eminent figure in the working-class movement and one of the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party, later a Communist. From 1915 to 1923 he was the editor of the Socialist Party's central organ, the newspaper *Avanti!* During the First World War he was an internationalist and took part in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. After the formation of the Comintern he urged that the Italian Socialist Party should affiliate to it. At the 2nd Congress of the Comintern he led the Italian delegation and opposed an unconditional break with the reformists. Subsequently recognised his Centrist errors and joined the Italian Communist Party in 1924 in which he played an active part until his death.

Yes, the great spirit of Marx lives once again in Lenin. Marx strove and fought during the infancy of the modern proletariat, Lenin strikes and fights for its final triumph over its rapacious and murderous enemies. In both the spirit of revolution was and is incarnate. The proletariat are, indeed, fortunate in having as their champions two such men.

In the days to come, after the world revolution, when the peoples of the earth shall be free from the shackles of capitalist imperialism, when real communist civilisation prevails, two names will be honoured above all others, and they will be the names of Karl Marx and Nicolai Lenin.

Tom Quelch¹

*Delegate of the British Socialist Party
to the 2nd Bureau of the Third International*

¹ Quelch, Tom (1886-1954)—English socialist and later Communist. Trade union organiser and writer. At the beginning of his activity he was a member of the Social-Democratic Federation and then of the British Socialist Party. He played an active part in the socialist and trade union press. During the First World War he adopted an internationalist position. In 1919 he actively supported the creation of a communist party in England. He was a delegate to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. At some time prior to July 30, 1920 Tom Quelch and W. McLaine were received by Lenin. In 1920 he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain and was a member of its Central Committee from 1923 to 1925. From 1920 to 1931 served on the editorial board of the journal *Communist International*. Was active in the Building Workers Union from 1924 to 1953. Abandoned his activities in the Communist Party towards the end of his life.

No. 105

Knows what is wanted and how to get it!

Jack Tanner¹
(England)

No. 106

Beloved by men, women and most of all children,
he cannot fail to lead the Red Russia to success.

Marjory Newbold²
(England)

¹ Tanner, Jack (b. 1889)—one of the leaders of the English trade union movement and a mechanic by trade. During the First World War he was active in the Shop Stewards' movement. From 1918 he was one of the leaders of the engineering, shipbuilding and metalworkers' unions. From 1920 to 1921 was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and delegate to the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. Subsequently joined the Labour Party. Chairman of the United Metalworkers' Union from 1939 to 1954. Member of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress from 1943 to 1954 and T.U.C. representative on a number of government economic bodies. Joined the Right wing of the T.U.C. in the late forties and adopted an anti-communist position.

² Newbold, Marjory—representative of the English League of Labour Youth at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern.

Moskva. 5 IV 1920.

„Kusky proletariát má své právo být proudem
na svou práci. Lenina a se všemi jeho přáteli
dělá, se a revolučními dělníky, když se toho napří.
si' politika je, má Lenina se všemi přáteli.
Dělníci a dělníci, kteří nebyli tak šťastni
a sami o sobě, kteří jsou s oběma na straně.
pod svou vlastní rukou a svou práci Lenina a
Rusko vyhovuje.
proletariát Lenina a jeho přáteli

A. K. Potocký,
který dělníky organizuje a jejich
schopnosti a jejich práci pro Lenina a jeho
přáteli

Entries by Zápotocký, Vanek and Můla in the
Lenin Album compiled at the Second
Congress of the Comintern

No. 107

It is impossible to personify the whole new period of the extensive international movement without possessing remarkably high intellectual and moral qualities.

Lenin personifies a great moment in history. One could not achieve such a position without possessing outstanding mental and ethical qualities.

*Antonio Graziadei*¹

Member of the Italian delegation

Moscow, July 20, 1920

No. 108

Comrade Lenin

The great
Comrade Lenin!
In the four years of Revolution
He never once erred.
He has fearlessly put into practice
The most noble ideals.

¹ Graziadei, Antonio (1873-1953)—Italian Communist, economist and professor at the University of Parma. Joined the Italian Socialist Party in 1893. Parliamentary deputy from 1910. During the First World War adopted a Centrist position. Represented the Italian Socialist Party at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. Played a part in founding the Italian Communist Party. Graziadei made a number of serious mistakes. He was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for advocating a revision of Marxist political economy and joining the group of Right-wing deviationists. He later confessed his errors and was admitted back to membership of the Party.

He has not forgotten the lessons
Of the defeat of the Paris Commune.
His deeds are as pure
As slivers of ice.
The time will come
When the world revolution is crowned with
victory.

An Lun-ho

*Representative of the Main Bureau of
Chinese Emigrés for the Founding of
the Communist Party of China*

July 29, 1920

No. 109

My personal view of Lenin is that after Karl Marx *there is no* other greater champion of the proletarian cause. Marx is the founder of communism and Lenin clears the ground and builds on it. His whole being radiates composure and a sense of purpose, and all his actions show that he *knows* what he wants, that he sees the path along which he must go, and that he will do everything in his power to carry out the work of building the new world, which he has planned.

Kata Dalström¹

*Left-wing Social-Democratic Party
(Sweden)*

Moscow, July 21, 1920

¹ Dalström, Katarina (Kata) (1858-1923?)—writer. Began to play an active part in the working-class movement in the 1880s. Joined the Left-wing Social-Democratic Party of Sweden in 1917 and opposed the social-chauvinists and Right-wing Social-Democrats. Represented the Swedish Left-wing Social-Democratic Party at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. Vacillated in her support of Comintern policy from 1921 to 1923.

No. 110

Lenin

You, son of the noble Russian race, who are in the centre of the modern world—the town of Moscow where everything that is truly splendid on earth is concentrated—you embody for me the unity of the profoundly contemplative East and the tirelessly labouring West.

You are a happy man in that you are beginning, at the height of your powers, to put into practice the ideas which you have cherished for many years: you are uniting the Spark of young life kindled out of the terrible suffering engendered by tsarism with the support of Western Europe, with the Truth that only the organised force of human labour can guarantee mankind its basic rights.

To my mind you combine some of the best qualities of the immortal Marat—*l'ami du peuple* at the time of the French Revolution—with certain features of the great genius of the 19th century—Karl Marx whose ideas you are beginning to put into practice at a stage in history of which he never even dreamed.

In you I see a combination of the incomparable sense of realism inherent in the Russian urban and rural working classes, as it is depicted in its best literary works, and the universal spirit of the Ancient Greeks, who personified true delight in nature and society, gay and penetrating in their joyous, cunning and entirely human god Pan.

I can also recall how at the meetings of the former International ten years ago, when you and others were put in the background together with the revolution itself, you would speak out simply and eloquently whenever there was an occasion—which was rarely—to put in a word which would really contribute towards the preparations for social revolution.

And this was how I saw you again when I arrived once more for a congress of the International, this time in Moscow: I was fortunate enough to meet you unexpectedly in one of the halls of what is now the Red Kremlin. Almost unnoticed, you were emerging from a quiet corner where you had been sitting with your usual modesty in spite of the fact that the eyes of the whole world were on you.

Lenin, you who are with all your being the product of the truly proletarian forces of mankind, may your great strength like that of Marx and Engels be entirely devoted to furthering the dialectical course of history, that same history which through the Russian Revolution gives a presentiment of the great joy of mankind, the great joy of its physical and spiritual advance, the great joy of the equality which is already beginning to unfold human personality.

I write on behalf of my wife also who shares my work and beliefs.

D. J. Wijnkoop
(Holland)

Moscow, July 31, 1920

No. 111

It is difficult for me to express my views on Lenin in a few lines, particularly as I do not know him well enough to do so.

To write about Lenin simply on the basis of the impressions that one gathers during Congress debates would be hypocrisy or rashness and I am an enemy of both.

Nevertheless I must say that Lenin is an outstanding personality with an inexhaustible supply of energy and one of the best Marxist theoreticians.

Angel Pestaña
(Spaniard)

Moscow, July 27, 1920

No. 112

Moscow, July 27, 1920

The French syndicalist delegates, Marcel Vergeat and Lepetit from the metalworkers' and navvies' unions, in Russia to establish contact with workers' organisations and report back to the French Revolutionaries all information of service to the truth and to the revolutionary movement.

Lenin

What do we think of Lenin?
What do people in France think of him?

That he represents the social revolution, which is saying a great deal and is entirely sufficient proof of his merit in the eyes of the French workers.

Our working class loves him instinctively, and when his name is mentioned at meetings it provokes a storm of approval. Yes, Lenin symbolises the Revolution and this explains why even people who know him only by name love and admire him from the depths of their hearts.

It is their hearts that are speaking and leading them to make sound judgements.

For what other reasons do we love Lenin? Because he is a tireless worker, a fearless leader and theoretician and a staunch revolutionary who, regardless of the most tragic events and the most incredible difficulties and despite the most unexpected twists of fate, never loses sight of the goal which he has set and leaves reliable landmarks on the path, often a difficult one, which leads to this goal.

But we also love him dearly for the rare modesty which can be seen in his writing, speeches, behaviour, in all his actions and his life as a whole.

One wonders how this great reserve of a man who is always friendly in spite of the prestige accorded to him, which so often turns peoples' heads and makes them arrogant, can be reconciled with the extravagant publicity which surround his name and his person.

It is possible that the large number of portraits which announce and deify him everywhere are considered superfluous by him. He may also think that it is pointless for the delegates to the International to be invited to express their views on him and him alone, since his work is sufficient proof of his greatness and has no need of embellishment, and because in the interests of truth and justice the feelings with which we are inspired in relation to him are also directed towards all the great fathers of the Revolution.

We love Lenin and all the other fathers of the Revolution, both theoreticians and men of action. But we love them as true friends. And in their person we

love the Russian people, who know how to love and to think, who know how to struggle and to suffer for noble ideals and for Humanity.

M. Vergeat, Lepetit¹

No. 113

Moscow, July 27, 1920

What do I think of Comrade Lenin? That he is not only loved by his friends, but is also admired by his enemies.

May his life and the great work he is doing for his people be crowned with success.

Yours for the revolution,

M. Schwartz²
(U.S.A.)

No. 114

Lenin. An Appreciation

Moscow, July 30, 1920

I am not a hero-worshipper. The socialist movement is so great, that in comparison even its greatest leaders

¹ Marcel Vergeat and Lepetit were received by Lenin on August 14, 1920 together with Béla Kun, Paul Levi, K. Kabachiev and others.

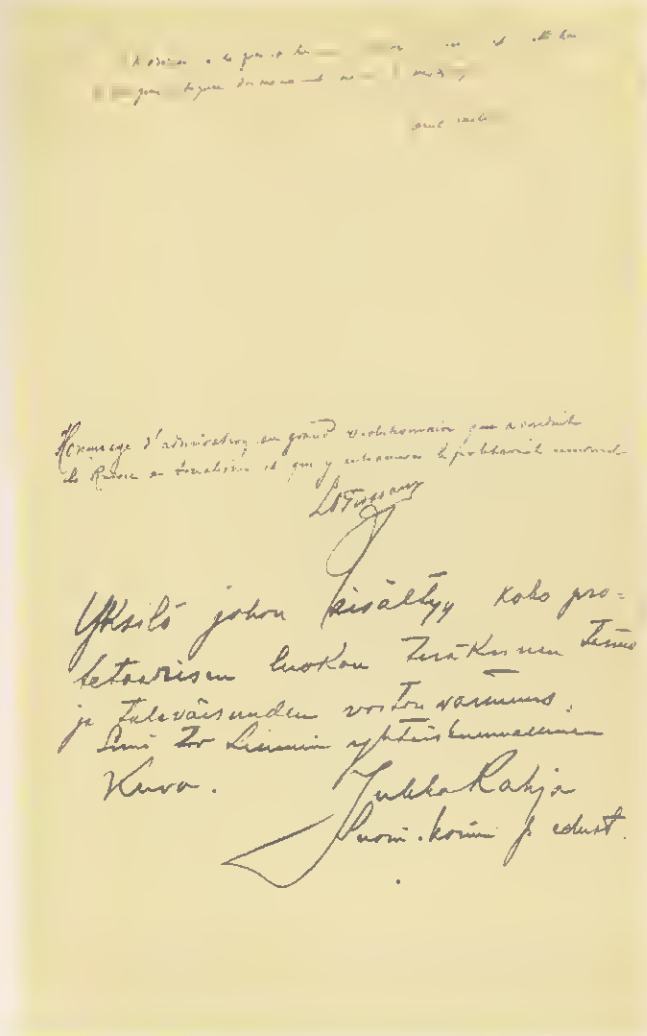
² Schwartz M. I. (b. 1892)—a shoemaker by trade. Member of the American Communist Party from 1919 and its representative at the Comintern.

seem to be very small. In spite of this however Nicolai Lenin claims my whole-hearted admiration and respect.

In a recent interview kindly granted to Comrade Quelch and myself, Comrade Lenin discussed with us the position of the British working-class movement. What impressed me very strongly was the almost uncanny way in which he drew attention to our weaknesses or rather to the weaknesses of the British communist movement. We knew from Lenin's writings that he possessed a wonderful ability to seek and find the weaknesses of his opponents but we found the same ability to locate those of his friends. We were rather proud of the achievements of our Party but Comrade Lenin made us feel that we had done very, very little. His suggestions as to future work in Britain should help us enormously.

Lenin by his writings and by his work generally has proved himself to be a worthy successor to Marx. As a theoretician he has no peer at the present, but it is as the man of action that he figures most prominently in the eyes of the world working class. The ability to follow step by step the logic of one's own thoughts to their logical conclusion, and then to apply the conclusions arrived at is possessed by very few. It is this combination of theoretical and practical ability that makes the real leader.

Lenin is the best loved and most hated man in the world today. That he should be hated by the capitalists of all lands is natural. That he should be loved is obvious to those who have seen him. His photographs do not do him justice. They cannot give us that kindly gleam that is in his eyes, nor can they give us an indication of the fund of humour that is in him. It is very remarkable that one whose whole life has been in the nature of a struggle either polemical or physical should have retained his ability to appreciate a good joke or a witty rejoinder. It is that indication of real sanity and balance that saves a great man from becoming either a mere disputant or a one-sided individual.



Entries by Cachin, Frossard and Rahja in the Lenin Album compiled at the Second Congress of the Comintern

Yes, the working-class movement is fortunate at this moment in having so great and so human a man as its chief leader. We honour him, we love him.

As the Scottish people say, "Lang may his lum reek".

W. McLaine¹

British Socialist Party Delegate

No. 115

... All writers seem to agree in characterising Burke as the greatest political philosopher and the wisest statesman of his age. Napoleon said only two men accomplished anything wonderful after forty—Rousseau and Cromwell. While Carlyle dogmatically asserted that Napoleon was our last great man.

How and where shall we place Lenin? We can only compare him with the so-called big men of his time. Wilson with all his eloquent preaching simply remains a sort of (one word missing in original—*Ed.*) clerk for the bankers of the U.S. and Britain. Lloyd George what he always was, a quibbling attorney—the political "artful dodger" of the 20th century, Clemenceau should be represented as riding and facing the donkey's tail—in other words looking backwards. With Lenin we have a man beside whom the others are

¹ McLaine, William (1891-1960)—English socialist, trade union organiser and writer. Held a number of posts in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers from 1916 to 1916. Joined the British Socialist Party during the First World War and was a member of its Central Committee from 1918 to 1919. Attended the 2nd Congress of the Comintern as B.S.P. delegate and was received by Lenin together with Tom Quelch (prior to July 30, 1920). Disseminated Marxist ideas among the Scottish and English workers from 1919 to 1929 and joined the Communist Party. Left the Party in 1929 and adopted an anti-communist position from the thirties onwards.

as ant hills alongside of the Caucasian or the Himalayan mountains. He stands on the past looking into the future like a prophet or a seer observing the dawning of a new day, the sunrise of industrial freedom with the dome of the co-operative commonwealth shining in the distance.

Lenin is the foremost man of his time, the greatest of his age the ablest social political philosopher the revolutionary movement has produced.

Patrick Quinland
Irish Labour Party

No. 116

Lenin

Comrade N. Lenin is the man who knows what he is out for, and who is determined to get it at any price.

He is the man whose name is enough to mention in order to frighten the Imperialists of the World and to brighten the International Proletariat. His name will be written in gold letters in the Book of the History of the Social Revolutions. Comrade Lenin is the man who knows perfectly well, that there can be no Peace until the Capitalism will be destroyed and Communism established, and he won't rest until this will be accomplished. Comrade Lenin is the Greatest leader of the oppressed and enslaved Working Class and they follow every sentence of his as well as every step.

Long live Social Revolution!

Long live Comrade Lenin!

Ignas Dagilis
Representative of the Socialist
Information and Research Bureau,
Scotland

No. 117

Moscow, July 27, 1920

My opinion of Lenin is, that he is the greatest exponent of communism of the present day.

The various political economists who preceded, each, in his turn, found some new fact upon which the structure of social science was built, and it remained for Marx at last to add the final fact, that of the discovery of surplus value.

While Marx forecasted to some extent the transitory period from capitalism to communism, it remained for Lenin to at last work out and institute the form that the transition period must take—the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹ Thus, Lenin stands with Marx, as the greatest of socialist students; whose name will live for ages.

Long Live Lenin!

E. M. Martin²
Communist Labour Party, America

¹ The writer is inaccurate. Marx wrote: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*." K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, 1962, Vol. II, p. 30.

² Martin, Edward—representative of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. On August 27, 1920 Lenin sent Martin a note of thanks for his services to the Communist International.

No. 118

I caught hold of Lenin and walked with him from Smolny to the Uritsky Palace. The most powerful Communist was the most jovial and robustious comrade another comrade could meet.

R. Connolly
(Ireland)

No. 119

A man great in his simplicity.

Gruber

No. 120

Advance the cause of world revolution, comrade.

M. Levitsky
(Galicia)

Part Four

**THE WORLD
IN MOURNING**

No. 121

From the Central Committee
of the German
Communist Party
to the Central Committee
of the R.C.P.

Berlin, January 22, 1924

Dear Comrades,

The heart of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the creator and leader of the R.C.P., the staunch and stalwart helmsman of Soviet Russia and the outstanding leader of revolutionary workers throughout the whole world, has stopped beating. Cruel death has dashed our hopes that our beloved leader might recover from his grievous illness and once again devote his exceptional energies to our great international cause.

Dear Comrades! It is with profound grief that we lower our banners before all that was mortal in Vladimir Ilyich. In the name of the revolutionary workers of Germany we send our most sincere fraternal greetings to the R.C.P. and to all those in vast Russia who mourn their deeply beloved leader. We extend our profoundest condolences to them in their loss, which is a loss for us all.

In this sad hour we find comfort in the knowledge that Lenin's influence remains with us, that his cause has an unshakeable foundation in Soviet Russia and that throughout the whole world millions of people are following the path which he charted. They are fully determined to hold to this path, to continue the liberating struggle of the proletariat inspired by his iron purpose, and to complete throughout the whole earth the great task so auspiciously inaugurated by the victory and achievements of Soviet Russia.

We will not take it upon ourselves to describe, even in the most general terms, the full significance of the great fortune which has been the lot of the R.C.P., the Soviet Russia and the Communist International in having such a person as Lenin for their leader. The Central Committee and the members of the R.C.P. will be able to assess better than anyone else what Lenin has meant for them and every one of us. One thing we must say, however, is that if the workers' movement in Germany had enjoyed the inspiring genius of Lenin during its years of growth like the Russians, and if the German Left had broken with the Mensheviks long before the war like the Bolsheviks did under Lenin's leadership, the best part of our proletariat would have been steeled in the struggle against Menshevism. It would have won such trust and influence with the working class that it could have transformed the half-hearted revolution of November 1918 into something genuinely Bolshevik and, together with Soviet Russia, created a united Soviet stronghold against the capitalist world, from the Rhine to Vladivostok.

Immeasurable suffering and tragic disappointment would not then have been the lot of both the Russian and German peoples.

Over the bier of Comrade Lenin we vow, once again, that his will, his cause and his teaching will remain with us forever as a legacy, an example and a guiding light. Lenin is our leader. He will remain such even when the banner, which he bore aloft through twenty five years of battle, is raised by other hands in the vanguard of the warriors of the international proletariat.

*Central Committee of the German
Communist Party
(Comintern section)*

Pravda, January 24, 1924

No. 122

**From the Rome Section of the
Italian Communist Party to
the Russian Delegation**

Rome, January 23, 1924

Dear Comrades,

This section requests you to convey to the Soviet Government on behalf of all Communists in the city of Rome, their grief in the bitter loss of Comrade Lenin.

The workers of Rome will always revere him with unswerving faith as the greatest figure in the glorious Russian revolution and the strongest leading light for the oppressed of the whole world.

Taken from the midst of the world proletariat before his time, he will yet remain immortal.

The Communists of the city of Rome bow their heads in reverence before the champion and leader of the masses, whose image is indelibly impressed on all our hearts.

Very respectfully yours,

Secretary of the Rome section

C.P.A. I.M.L.

Original in Italian

No. 123

**From the Secretariat of the
German Communist Party to
the Secretariat of the R.C.P.**

Berlin, January 24, 1924

Dear Comrades,

The night before last we received the sad tidings of the death of Vladimir Ilyich. We stood side by side in deep silence and by this solemn silence each one of us expressed his grief.

Our *beloved, bold, deeply revered "old man"*, whose life's cause assumed practical form in Germany as well, and who inspired this form with the sacred spark of revolution, has now departed from us.

... We, German Communists, who have just covered a small but hard stretch of the path trodden by our leader, have a special duty to treasure the counsels of our Teacher. Yet even at a time of such bitter tribulation as the death of our *leader*, we revolutionaries must look boldly to the future.

Indeed, there can be no better way of revering Lenin's memory than if we put our hearts into the struggle of achieving that which you, dear Russian comrades, attained under his leadership.

The reactionary bourgeoisie, rampant fascism and the white reaction, which are now counting on our weakness, will be repulsed from the workers' and peasants' front with bloody brows.

Today over the ashes of our staunch, inimitable *Ilyich* we repeat the oath which we made over the graves of our *Karl* and *Rosa* who have now been resting in peace for five years: "The world belongs to us, come what may!"

Comrades of Russia! We shall be with you on Saturday when you accompany Lenin for the last time to the Kremlin wall in Red Square.

On Sunday, January 27 memorial meetings will be organised by our workers all over the country. We will feel your presence by our side as we walk in mourning.

With fraternal, fighting greetings,

*Administrative Secretariat of the
German Communist Party*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original in German

No. 124

Appeal from the French Communist Party on the Occasion of Lenin's Death

January 27, 1924

This day hundreds of millions of workers in all countries will be united by their grief and mourning.

The whole Russian people is lamenting the departure of its greatest liberator. The centre of the enormous town of Moscow will be too small to accommodate throngs of workers which will gather this afternoon in Red Square and the adjoining streets. The mortal remains of Lenin will be committed to the earth by the Kremlin wall among the graves of the revolutionaries who have given their lives since 1917 to save the Revolution.

The ranks of the demonstrators in St. Denis will be swelled by the working people of Paris, office and factory workers, manual labourers and intellectuals, the inhabitants of the districts and outlying neighbourhoods of Paris, men, women and children, invalids, widows and orphans, old veterans and all victims of the imperialist war and the everyday class struggle.

No one will be absent. The crowd gathered there will embody the gratitude and admiration of the Paris workers for one of the greatest fighters for the emancipation of the working class all over the world. Its numbers will bear witness to the solidarity which exists between the heirs of the heroic Paris Commune and the great Russian Revolution which continued and, for the first time, avenged the Commune. This procession must make an impression worthy of Paris and its glorious revolutionary past.

Let the poorest and most unfortunate be at its forefront.

It was for them above all, to deliver them from the grip of poverty, to free them from the shameful exploitation of implacable capitalism and to improve their working and living conditions that Lenin expended his talent and energy generously without respite.

His constant, superhuman efforts made his name the subject of frenetic hatred by the parasitic bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries throughout the world.

Let all those for whose sake he died come and bear witness to Lenin's memory on this day of mourning, showing their determination to continue the liberating struggle which he has marked out for them.

*Governing Committee of the
French Communist Party*

First published in *l'Humanité*,
January 27, 1924

No. 125

The Paris Workers in St. Denis

January 28, 1924

The homage paid by the workers of Paris yesterday to Lenin was worthy of his great memory. The ceremony could not have been more simple, more moving or more impressive. An enormous crowd deep in spiritual contemplation filled the square for more than two hours while Party sections and workers' organisations filed past in an endless procession.

By the porch of the basilica, in which the kings of France are buried more than three hundred red flags were lowered before Lenin's image. The hearts of the workers who had come in their thousands to express their admiration, grief and hope were seized by the most intense emotion. Many of them could not restrain their tears.

Oh, how far removed this was from official ceremonies conducted in accordance with a strict protocol. Here it was the people themselves who had come from the suburbs with their pure, touching faith to pay homage to the man who had done more than any other for them, to mourn the revolutionary whose genius and will were able to make his dream come true. The sons of the Communards came to express their gratitude to the most illustrious heir of the Commune for having avenged the proletarian defeat of 1871.

It was a uniquely splendid, powerful and deeply moving sight. There was not a single person in that great crowd of representatives from all over France who had flocked to St. Denis, who was not moved to the very core of his being. And what a lesson for the sceptical and the hostile who refuse to acknowledge the incontestable prestige so rightly enjoyed by the Rus-

sian revolution and the giants who made it victorious and invincible.

At the very moment when the workers of France were gathered thus side by side around the image of the deceased, over there at the foot of the Kremlin wall a whole people was mourning the man who had led them to freedom. . . . Here in the icy mist and over there in the snow which muffled all sound, there was the same profound contemplation, the same fervour, the same deep mourning.

But there was also the same hope! The living Lenin emanated the fiery spirit of battle, an iron energy and complete confidence in ultimate victory. In accompanying such a man to his final resting place it was impossible for anyone to give way to a feeling of despair. There is only one way of paying tribute to his memory: to fix one's mental gaze on a model of will-power, energy and devotion to the noblest of causes, as perfect as he was.

"Forward! Ever forward across the graves!" These words of Goethe's rest in the minds of everyone after the incomparable ceremony in St. Denis. The proletariat of Paris today showed itself worthy of its great traditions. And in order to remain true to Lenin's memory it will pursue to the final victory the revolutionary struggle assigned to all workers by that powerful leader of the peoples who has lately departed from us.

Marcel Cachin

First published in *l'Humanité*,
January 28, 1924

No. 126

**In Memory
of Lenin**

On the eve of the anniversary of the Petrograd massacre of 1905, the proletariat of the world has suffered a cruel blow; the death of our dear Comrade Lenin has removed the greatest figure in revolutionary history since Marx from the field of struggle. It is hard to reconcile oneself to the idea that the voice of Comrade Lenin will no longer sound in our revolutionary councils. Lenin has become for us the absolute "symbol" of communism and the proletarian revolution. No one was more hated by the enemies of the working class than our beloved leader, and no other leader and teacher of the working class ever commanded such power and influence throughout the world. Since 1917 his name has been, as we say in England, a household word. His revolutionary writings and theoretical works have changed the character of socialist organisations in Great Britain and led them out of chaos onto revolutionary lines.

In this hour of great grief our profoundest sympathy goes out to our Russian comrades and to all the peoples of the Union of Soviet Republics. Now that our great leader, Comrade Lenin, can lead us no longer, his works and teaching, his revolutionary vigour and unshakeable realism must guide and inspire us in the revolutionary tasks which confront the proletariat of the world.

May the memory of Comrade Lenin live forever!

Long live the Union of Soviet Republics!
Long live the international proletariat!
Long live the Communist International!

*Robert Stewart*¹

*Member of the Executive Committee
of the Comintern and of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party
of Great Britain*

Pravda, January 24, 1924

¹ Stewart, Robert (b. 1877)—one of the leading figures in the British Communist Party, a joiner by profession. An active participant in the trade union and socialist movements. Member of the British Communist Party since 1920, elected to its Central Committee on several occasions. Delegate to the 5th and 6th congresses of the Comintern. Has visited the Soviet Union several times and was present at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. in 1961.

No. 127

From the American Workers' Party

**The Death of Lenin—
a Shattering Blow
to the Working Class
of the Whole World**

With the death of Comrade Lenin the working class of the whole world has lost its leader. No one since Marx had such a profound understanding of the working class, no one understood the methods the working class must use to achieve freedom, no one had the capacity to analyse capitalist society and to point the way to the working class, as Lenin.

The death of Lenin is a shattering blow to the world proletariat. His absence from the scene for over a year seemed to us merely a breathing space which this great man permitted himself in order to prepare for the tasks which the cause of revolution in other countries had imposed on him. For Lenin alone laid the true path to revolution. Only he, armed with an iron logic and will, could follow this path unswervingly.

What he meant to the Russian Revolution of workers and peasants only Soviet Russia herself can say. He was the embodiment of the urge for freedom which inspired the Russian proletariat.

What he meant to the workers of other countries is inestimable. They would wait expectantly for his directions and assistance in the bitter struggle against the capitalists in their countries. His penetrating intellect would always produce an analysis and solution. No one had such a clear mental grasp of the tasks of the international struggle as Lenin.

For the capitalist world he was the statesman incarnate. He was a man whose words must be heeded, who demanded respect, a man with a perceptive eye and an iron will, a man to be feared. The world bour-

geoisie recognised the hand of Lenin at all the international conferences in which Soviet representatives took part, for these representatives were his pupils. In their struggle against Leninism the international bourgeoisie had to give ground before the compelling logic, justice and sincerity which Lenin embodied.

The world bourgeoisie will be inwardly rejoicing at our loss. But its rejoicing is premature. Lenin has shown the working class that its strength lies in the strength of the masses. He has taught us to understand the strength of the masses and this understanding remains with us as one of his greatest legacies. The world proletariat is beginning to appreciate its own strength which will overthrow the bourgeoisie, destroy the armies of its hirelings, and free the workers and peasants from the domination of capital.

The bourgeoisie should not be so triumphant; our Lenin is dead but his teaching remains. Soviet Russia, Lenin's creation, remains as a challenge to the world bourgeoisie and a clarion call to the world proletariat. Let them be wary of rejoicing; Brest-Litovsk, where the victorious armies of imperialist Germany and international capital suffered a devastating defeat, and the New Economic Policy, the introduction of which again confounded the world bourgeoisie, have served as a great lesson to the proletariat. The working class has learnt to fight the bourgeoisie with its own weapons. These weapons will now bring about not the flourishing of capitalism but its downfall. These two events, these two hard facts are tributes to the crowning genius of Lenin.

Lenin is dead, but those whom he taught and who learned their lessons with him in the Russian Revolution are still with us. These people, his fellow-victors in the greatest triumph the working class has ever known, are continuing the revolution. In their grief and pain the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia are rallying together more strongly than ever before.

The Workers' Party and the revolutionary workers of America share the grief of Soviet Russia. As a part of the Communist International, American revolution-

aries feel profoundly the bitterness of the loss suffered by the world communist movement in the death of their leader. But we will not allow our grief to weaken our resolve. Together with the international proletariat we will march forward in serried ranks with firm steps to the revolution. And in our struggle Lenin will always be with us.

I. Amter¹

*Member of the Executive Committee
of the Comintern from the American
Workers' Party*

¹ Amter, Israel (1881-1954)—one of the veteran members of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Member of its National Committee and of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. After the Second World War illness prevented him from taking an active part in the work of the Communist Party.

No. 128

From the Communists of the U.S.A.

January 24, 1924

In the name of the Communists of the United States and hundreds of thousands of adherents to the cause of the workers and peasants of Russia, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party expresses deep sympathy with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia in the loss of our great leader Lenin. In his memory we pledge ourselves to work with greater energy and with unshakeable determination for the principles he gave us and to carry forward those principles until the triumph of the world proletarian revolution of which he was the great leader.

Ruthenberg¹

*The Daily Worker, Chicago,
January 25, 1924*

¹ Ruthenberg, Charles Emil (1882-1927)—active figure in the American and international working-class movements, one of the founders of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

No. 129

**From a Meeting of New York
Workers to the Central
Committee of the R.C.P.**

February 4, 1924

In a monster mass memorial meeting¹ 20,000 New York workers expressed their sorrow at the death of the greatest proletarian revolutionist, Nikolai Lenin. They pledge their support to the Soviet Republic in its valiant struggle against world imperialist capitalism and they resolve to do their full duty in bringing about the world revolution which will emancipate the international working class.

Long live the Communist International!
Long live Soviet Russia!
Long live Leninism!

*Benjamin Gitlow
Chairman of the meeting*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ This meeting, organised by the American Workers' Party, was held in Madison Square, New York, on February 4, 1924.

No. 130

**American Reactions to the
News of Lenin's Death**

New York, January 22 (ROSTA). The news of Lenin's death has made a tremendous impact in America. Americans who have been to Russia are paying tribute to Lenin's personal qualities and genius. William Haskell, head of the American Relief Administration, says that he has a most pleasant memory of his dealings with Lenin. He saw him as a sincere, honest leader popular not only with the Communists but with the whole Russian people. The general opinion of Americans who have visited Russia recently is that Lenin's death will not affect the structure and stability of the Soviet Government.

The veteran American socialist leader, Eugene Debs, expresses his sincere grief at Lenin's death. "I regard Lenin as the greatest thinker. . . . He towered head and shoulders above every other statesman in Europe. . . . He has carried two bullets, fired into his body by an assassin, and at the same time been forced to bear a burden of official responsibility and care greater than any other man's in the world. His place in history is certain. He will go down in history as one of the greatest statesmen, a towering personality, a heroic soul, and in the loftiest sense a champion of the rights and liberties of the common people."

Senator Ladd who visited Russia in the summer of 1923 said he considered that Russia has lost her best friend who worked selflessly in the interests of the people.

Pravda, January 24, 1924

No. 131

A New Call to Arms

"I am sure that in this connection we must tell not only the Russians, but the foreign comrades as well, that the most important thing in the period we are now entering is to study. We are studying in the general sense. They, however, must study in the special sense, in order that they may really understand the organisation, structure, method and conduct of revolutionary work. If they do that, I am sure the prospects of the world revolution will be not only good, but excellent."

(From Lenin's Report to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International)

We were all nurturing in our hearts the profound hope that Lenin would return to his work; that he would once again lead us, show us the right path.

And now he seems to have come up close to each of us, with a slightly quizzical expression in his intelligent, penetrating eyes as if to say: "What are you marking time for?"

Are we really marking time? The answer is yes.

We foreign Communists have not learnt enough. And Lenin told us hundreds of times that we must learn.

Lenin, your death comes to us as a new call to arms. You will live on in us, in the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world. You will be our guide. We will learn by struggling and struggle by learning. We will echo your words a thousandfold throughout the world, and through our blows the enemy will know that Lenin is not dead, but lives on.

A. Stirner

*Member of the Executive Committee
of the Comintern from South America*

Pravda, January 24, 1924

No. 132

From the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party to the Central Committee of the R.C.P. and the Executive Committee of the Comintern

January 26, 1924

On the sad occasion of the death of Lenin, leader of the Russian and international revolution, the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party on behalf of the revolutionary Polish working class affirms its solidarity with the heroic proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and with the entire international working class. Cruel death has robbed our ranks of a brilliant leader and teacher, the great mind behind the proletarian revolution; but the death of the man who led the great proletarian army will rally our ranks even more strongly in the bitter struggle for the triumph of the communist ideals, which were embodied in the whole life of Vladimir Ilyich.

C.P.A. I.M.L.

No. 133

**From the Conference of the
Scandinavian Communist
Federation**

*Kristiania, January 22,
1924*

The Scandinavian Communist parties, gathered in Kristiania for the purpose of creating the Scandinavian Federation, were deeply grieved by the news of Comrade Lenin's death. With the passing of Lenin, the world proletariat has been deprived of its great, incomparable leader, who led the Russian working class to outstanding victories and formed ranks of revolutionary workers all over the world for the forthcoming decisive battles.

With profound grief the Scandinavian proletariat lowers its banners over Lenin's ashes and pledges itself heart and soul to the task of continuing Lenin's great work together with its comrades in other countries.

*The Conference of the Scandinavian
Communist Federation*

Pravda, January 24, 1924

No. 134

From Greek Communists

*To the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the O.C.C. of Greece on learning the sad news of the death of Comrade Lenin, the great leader of the oppressed, suffering proletariat, wishes to express the profound grief of the Greek proletariat at this immeasurable loss for the cause of the working class.

Izvestia, January 29, 1924

No. 135

Jacques Sadoul's Condolences

In order to evaluate Soviet Russia's irreparable loss let us recall that the French working class, after ten years of striving, and the German working class, after five years of struggle, have still not been able to emerge from the disarray into which they were plunged by the death of Jaurès, Karl and Rosa.

But Lenin has bequeathed us something which neither Jaurès, Karl nor Rosa could. He has bequeathed us a splendid revolutionary party, tested by fifteen years of struggle, ripened and matured by six years of power. He has left us his name, a symbol of the first defeat inflicted on the bourgeoisie, a talisman for the future, stupendous victories of the world proletariat. He has bequeathed us two mighty dreadnoughts, built and launched into the social ocean by his own strong hands—Soviet Russia and the Communist International. Finally he has left a magic compass for the crews of the proletarian revolution, which he himself picked and trained for the war fleet—the perfect compass of Marxist method, firmly set on course.

Nevertheless I see comrades overcome by despair and giving way to pessimism. They think that the compass will not be able to save ships carried away by the storm. And that the helmsman has gone, the helmsman with the cool head and iron hand, the incomparable helmsman capable of steering with unheard-of skill, manoeuvring against all winds and currents, predicting and avoiding all reefs.

History appears to teach us that the great geniuses which from millenium to millenium rise up and broaden the path of Humanity, are insatiable devourers. Gigantic oak trees whose mighty roots suck the earth's juices and in whose stifling shade the young trees of the forest wither and die. The world bourgeoisie claims that in this vast Russian continent where mil-

lions of people are inspired with revolutionary fervour not one new striking personality has appeared over the last six years. And it concludes that the Revolution has become sterile.

But everything points to the fact that the period of gestation is over and that the world will soon see emerging from Russia's heavy belly the splendid generation of heroic builders which has invariably been engendered in all countries at all times by the close union of great revolutionaries with the healthy, strong and fertile social class whose liberation they have assisted. The sudden disappearance of the best leaders of the French Montagne allowed the ambitious Napoleon to rob the French people of the extraordinary flowering of talent and new, virile forces which were engendered by the bourgeois revolution after six years of suffering.

The Russian Revolution succeeded in getting rid of the Bonapartes. As Lenin said to me in March 1921, the Jacobin workers who were more perceptive and decisive than the Jacobin bourgeois had the courage and wisdom to "thermidorise" themselves. They used the lesser evil to cure the greater. A bold form of homeopathy which could only be performed successfully by the greatest ruler of men the world has ever known.

Lenin is dead but Leninism is immortal. Lenin's best disciples are alive. His devoted lieutenants, the thousands and thousands of workers formed and modelled by his genius, the greatest and the humblest of his helpers, the millions of fervent Leninists spread over the old and the new world, they will all continue his work patiently and passionately. And they will complete it without a doubt.

Jacques Sadoul

L'Humanité, February 1, 1924

No. 136

Lenin—the Italian Workers' Symbol of Liberation

When it was learned in Italy at the beginning of 1923 that Lenin has been compelled by ill health to retire from active political life, the Italian workers were deeply grieved. This shows how he had become their ideal leader and greatest comrade.

The nation's vivid powers of invention and fertile imagination worked on the colourful figure of this man and the tidings about his deeds and words received from afar.

In the storm of passions which broke out at the end of the war when the wave of revolution was at its height Lenin was the only bright, inextinguishable light in the general turmoil and fighting. He was revered not only as the leader of the distant Russian Revolution, the theoretical leader of the proletarian movement and the head of the Russian Soviet Republic. In addition, every Italian worker and peasant saw in Lenin the leader of the approaching Italian revolution. They were all convinced that when the right moment came Lenin would lead the workers of Italy to victory, just as he had the workers of Russia. Thus it was that he also personified the future of the working class.

There was no working-class home in Italy where you would not find a portrait of Lenin in the place of honour. All the workers wore little picture of him on their chests. And in every Italian town and village workers would scratch his name on the walls of houses with a piece of coal or chalk or carve it in the stone.

If the politically conscious and organised workers saw Lenin as the leader of their revolutionary strug-

gle, to the broad mass of illiterate peasants, for whom his name and news of his deeds were shrouded in legend, Lenin was the new saviour, born by the tragic war and bringing salvation to the exploited. I remember a report which I once gave in a large Piedmont village, which I illustrated with a film of the 3rd Congress of the Comintern. Lenin appeared on the screen several times. It was during a terrible period of drought which was ruining the harvest. They had prayed to the sky for rain, organising solemn religious processions. On the day the film was shown there was a heavy downpour. As I was about to leave the village with my film a crowd of peasants swarmed round me shouting: "Lenin has sent us rain. Lenin has heard us."

Whilst Lenin inspired the deep love and great respect of the working class, he provoked an equally intense hatred on the part of the Italian bourgeoisie. In the civil war which lasted from 1921 to 1923 turning the whole of Italy into a bloodbath, Lenin's name would ring out on one side of the harricades with reverence and on the other with hatred: Lenin, Lenin!

Tearing up a picture of Lenin was a triumph for the fascists. Saving it from being destroyed was the sacred duty of the workers. When the moment of victory over the reaction comes and the Italian working class launches into battle, those portraits of Lenin which are hidden away now as the symbol of ultimate victory will emerge once again alongside the trade union, co-operative and communist banners.

The tragic news of Lenin's death will inspire profound grief in the hearts of the workers. The monstrous conditions in which they find themselves, thanks to the reaction, will aggravate their sorrow. They will not be able to express their grief openly, because this is forbidden by the fascist government which is inordinately afraid of the tremendous strength inspired by the name, or the memory alone of our great leader.

But in each poor working-class home condolences will ring out with deep emotion and reverence.

*Umberto Terracini*¹

Pravda, January 24, 1924

¹ Terracini, Umberto (b. 1895)—a leading figure in the Italian working-class movement and the Italian Communist Party. Took part in the founding of the Party in 1921. Imprisoned by the fascists in 1926. Spent the next seventeen years either in prison or in exile until August 1943. From 1943 to 1945 played an active part in the Italian people's struggle for liberation from the Nazi aggressors and their Italian accomplices. President of the Constituent Assembly in 1947; senator and member of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party.

No. 137

On to the End

On January 21, 1924 that powerful figure, brimming with energy, in whom vital revolutionary spirit was combined with a strong, creative mind, departed from us. Among the hosts of dead warriors for the world revolution, Comrade Lenin was one of the few who succeeded in putting into practice and developing the theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Bolsheviks with Lenin at their head forged their weapons in battle and tried to lead the workers and peasants to victory as early as 1905. As early as this Lenin's article "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising"¹ demonstrated clearly to the workers and peasants of Russia and the whole world that still more political, organisational, military and technical preparations were needed if the second Russian revolution was to end in victory. In the period 1905-1917 Lenin succeeded in preparing for this revolution so well that he won the trust of the broad masses and dealt a fatal blow to the bourgeoisie on those historic days of October 1917.

Hunted and persecuted by the secret police and grappling with immense difficulties, Lenin, the skilled helmsman guided the ship of revolution with a firm hand into the chosen harbour. In all his tireless activity, in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and their accomplices, the Mensheviks, he followed one aim unswervingly—the liberation of the working people from the capitalist yoke through the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The news of Lenin's death will fill the hearts of millions of workers throughout the world with pro-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 171.

found grief. The German workers will feel this loss twice as acutely, faced as they are with the forthcoming decisive struggle with the bourgeoisie.

Lenin is no more, but his spirit continues to live in us. The great cause begun by him will be carried on to the end by the working people of the world. Led by the Comintern, infused with the spirit of Lenin and having absorbed his revolutionary energy, the working class will set up a dictatorship of the proletariat, after dealing a lethal blow to the bastions and the state machinery of the bourgeoisie.

B r a u n

*Member of the Central Committee of
the German Communist Party*

Pravda, January 24, 1924

No. 138

From Austria

January 31, 1924

The Communist Party organised a demonstration in memory of Lenin to be held in Vienna. The demonstrators were to march to the Russian embassy with a message of condolence from the revolutionary workers of Austria, but the demonstration was prohibited by the Viennese police.

Instead a mass meeting was held in the town hall.

Impressive demonstrations were also held in Graz and Linz.

First published in *L'Humanité*,
January 31, 1924

No. 139

**From Political Prisoners
in Essen**

February 6, 1924

The terrible news of the death of our leader Lenin reached us through the walls of a French military prison.

We are all too fully aware of the irreparable loss which this means for the working people and the exploited in all countries, and of the delight which it will give to the exploiters and oppressors throughout the whole world.

It is with deep sorrow that we mourn the death of the leader of the Russian revolution and the world revolution, the founder of the Communist International. But we know that his work is indestructible, that his genius is still alive and will not cease to act.

After learning of our leader's death we swear to remain his disciples in thought and action.

In the same way as he replied to tsarist oppression by destroying tsarism itself and waging a relentless fight against world capitalism, we are also determined to strike back at world imperialism.

We know that the great mission which Lenin achieved at the head of the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers with the dictatorship of the proletariat, must also be achieved in Germany.

The foul treatment and persecution inflicted by our oppressors will not break us, but only serve to temper our hatred of capitalism and our fervent desire to witness the triumph of the working class throughout the whole world.

Long live the spirit of Lenin, the Soviet Republic and the Communist International!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat in
Germany and France!

Long live world revolution!

*Communist prisoners in the French
military prison at Essen*

First published in *l'Humanité*,
February 6, 1924

No. 140

**From the 2nd Conference of
Balkan Communist Youth
Leagues**

*To the Central Committee of the
Russian Communist Youth League*

**In the Footsteps
of Our Beloved Leader**

It is with profound grief that the 2nd Conference of Balkan Communist Youth Leagues expresses its condolences on the occasion of the death of our great teacher and beloved leader, Comrade Lenin. His name is engraved in letters of fire on the hearts and minds of all the young proletariat of the Balkan countries and throughout the whole world, and is a guiding star in their struggle with the bourgeoisie and the fascist white terror. Over the grave of our great teacher, leader and guide we swear not to put aside our weapons, but to fight for Comrade Lenin's teaching, for the liberation of the working class, until victory is ours. Regardless of the sacrifice we are going forward boldly in the footsteps of our beloved leader Lenin.

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original in Russian

No. 141

**Telegram from the Hands
Off Russia Committee**

*To the Council of People's
Commissars*

London, January 24, 1924

National Hands Off Russia Committee sends Russian nation heartfelt sympathy at inestimable loss befallen Russia in death of great leader Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov who will be revered by unborn generations when memories of maligners held in contempt or forgotten.

*Coates
Secretary*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
original

No. 142

**Telegrams and Letters from
English Workers'
Organisations Printed
in WORKERS' WEEKLY
for February 1, 1924**

**From the Executive Committee
of the British Communist Party**

Members of the Communist Party and all revolutionary workers of Britain deeply grieved to learn [of the] passing of our great and far-seeing revolutionary leader. Loved and honoured by workers in all parts of the world, his memory remains to guide us, and the great task to which he set himself will be carried on. Members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain with all loyal revolutionaries, will pledge their lives to the carrying on of this work.

**From the Students
of the London Labour College**

We, the students of the London Labour College, desire to express our deepest regret at the death of our Comrade Lenin.

His untimely death will serve to remind us of the energetic loyalty he has given to the cause. Marxism was to him a living thing, forged in the class struggle.

Lenin is dead, but his work remains, and it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to complete that to which he devoted his life—The World Revolution.

**From the
Norwood Labour Party**

Deep regret at the irreparable loss sustained by the workers of the world and by the Russian people in particular through the death of Lenin. Trust that his su-

perhuman efforts on behalf of humanity will, before long, be crowned with complete success.

**From the
South Wales Miners'
Federation**

The greatest loss that the international working class has had since the death of Karl Marx.

**From the Glasgow Socialist
Schools League**

As young comrades we appreciate the fight he has made on behalf of the workers of the world. It is up to us to carry out his ideals.

**From Stoke Mandeville
Labour Party**

We are deeply grieved at the passing of the dearest and best loved Comrade of the World Revolutionary Movement.

Our mightiest fighter has laid aside his armour and now lies quietly at rest.

The bravest and most devoted heart is still for ever, but with his death heavy upon us, each member of the above Party pledges himself anew to carry on the great tasks to which Lenin dedicated his life.

**C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original**

No. 143

**From the All-German
Commission of Factory Trade
Union Committees to the
Workers and Peasants
of Russia**

The All-German Commission of Factory Trade Union Committees has learnt with deep sorrow of the death of our leader, Comrade Lenin. Profoundly shaken we stand with you by the bier of the greatest leader of the working class of our time. Yet we shall proceed from our joint mourning to join arms with all our strength in the battle into which Lenin led us. Together we shall follow the path which Lenin showed us. In defiance of all enemies!

Long live the world revolution!

Secretariat of the Commission

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

No. 144

**From the Labour and Socialist
International to the Communist
International**

Profoundly moved by the sudden death of Lenin, we feel the deep need to tell the workers of the Communist International in this tragic moment, that in spite of all our disagreements about the path which the working class should follow, we were always conscious that Lenin followed his out of deepest conviction, with a pure heart and entirely devoted to the great cause of the world proletariat.

*Friedrich Adler*¹

*Secretary of the Labour and Socialist
International*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the German
original

¹ Adler, Friedrich (1879-1960)—leader of the Right wing of the Austrian Social-Democrats. Sided openly with the counter-revolution after the Austrian revolution in 1918. Adler was one of the organisers of the II^{1/2} International (1921-1923) and later one of the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International.

No. 145

**From the Party
of Iran Socialists
(Isfahan Branch)**

February 3, 1924

The sad news of the death of Comrade Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, has filled us with profound grief.

Nevertheless, we believe that the great revolution which he brought about in world socialism aimed at crushing the ranks of the imperialists, and the power which he placed in the minds and muscles of the workers, guarantee that he will live on to the end of time.

Lenin's teaching is alive and remains a living guide for the whole of working mankind.

Although the body of Comrade Lenin has ceased functioning his spirit and teaching have so strengthened the ranks of world socialism that they will never falter, but will march forward gaining in strength daily.

At this time of mourning we, socialists of the Isfahan region, being firmly convinced that Leninism is alive and firmly established in the world, express our deep sympathy to you as the Soviet plenipotentiary and say: "Long live Leninism!"

C.P.A. I.M.L.

No. 146

**From the Iran Trade Union
Council to the U.S.S.R.
Plenipotentiary in Persia**

Enzeli, January 27, 1924

The Council of Iran Trade Unions in the town of Enzeli was deeply grieved to learn of the sudden death of our beloved, immortal Vladimir Ilyich, whose name is forever engraved on the hearts of the working people of Iran. The Iran workers are firmly convinced that the teaching of our dear guide Ilyich will remain firm throughout the ages. We, Iran workers, express the hope, deeply respected comrades, that the Russian people will find consolation for this loss and be able to face the future boldly.

Iran Trade Union Council

C.P.A. I.M.L.

No. 147

Extract from an Article in
the Newspaper

AKHGER (SPARK)

No. 46, 1924¹

Just as the death of the great maker of the socialist revolution, Lenin, has shaken the working people of the whole world, it has also given them fresh strength and determination to follow his programme and teachings with renewed energy.

This light illuminating the minds of the workers and peasants has become even brighter: Lenin's death will not bring with it a weakening in the influence of his teaching.

The way in which the great teacher has been mourned throughout Europe and Asia, the way in which he has been mourned by all peoples in all countries, is in itself evidence of the profound sincerity of his teaching, the pureness of heart which attracted everyone to him, and that moral strength with which he passed on his amazing ideas to others.

Lenin has become even greater after his death. The imperialist governments of England and Italy, together with Norway, have recognised the workers' government conceived by Lenin, and in so doing have announced their capitulation.

Lenin was not here to witness this. But his disciples remain and will see even greater triumphs.

C.P.A. I.M.L.

¹ This newspaper was published in Isfahan (Iran).

No. 148

From the National Congress
of the Kuomintang

January 27, 1924

The Congress of the Kuomintang was deeply grieved to learn of the death of Comrade Lenin, whose work laid the main foundation for the new Russia and is a source of inspiration at the present time for delegates to the Congress in their principal task of making their party a national instrument for the unification of China, and in their striving for progress and the well-being of the Chinese people under the aegis of democratic power. As a token of its grief the Congress has resolved to observe a three-day interval in its proceedings.

Sun Yat-sen

Izvestia, January 29, 1924

No. 149

Telegram from Sun Yat-sen

I should be grateful if you would convey to your government my profound condolences on the occasion of Lenin's death. His name and memory will remain forever. People will continue to value the heroic qualities which make a leading statesman and creative leader. His work will also remain because it is based on a concept of society which must prevail and dominate the whole flight of human thought and striving in the future.

Sun Yat-sen

Izvestia, January 29, 1924

No. 150

From Bishop
William Montgomery Brown

To the Friends of Soviet Russia

*Brownella Cottage,
Galion, Ohio, U.S.A.
January 26, 1924*

My dear Comrades,

Enclosed I am handing you a letter which I have been requested to forward to Comrade Mrs. Nicholai Lenin, and I thought that the surest way of reaching her with it would be to ask you to do the mailing for him.

It is a lovely note of sympathy. Please read before sealing. I am glad that it was written.

Much of the world is mourning with this dear woman. Millions who are not interested in the socialist movement are great admirers of her heroic and gifted husband. I believe he was the greatest man who has ever lived...

Hoping that all is going well with the splendid work of the Friends and that Mrs. Brown and I will soon be able to send another contribution to help our Russian comrades in getting squarely and firmly on their feet with the greatest of all movements for the good of the world, I am,

Very cordially yours,

W. M. Brown

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

No. 151

**From the
International
Association
of Machinists**

*Mrs. Nickolai Lenin and
the Soviet Government of Russia
Moscow, Russia*

*Hope Lodge No. 79
Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
February 2, 1924*

We, the members of Hope Lodge No. 79, International Association of Machinists at Seattle, Washington, United States of America, in meeting assembled January 28, 1924 do hereby go on record tendering the widow of Nickolai Lenin and the Soviet Government of Russia our appreciation of the noble work and self-sacrifice for the toiling masses throughout the World by her husband, Nickolai Lenin. We as workers in the Labour Movement do hereby tender her our utmost sympathy and condolence in her hour of trial and sad bereavement.

Oppressed Labour throughout the World has lost one of its most valiant warriors in the hour of his great triumph against the combined onslaughts of the capitalistic nations of the world. Future historians will record him as one of the greatest strategists and geniuses the 19th century has produced and the foremost leader of the first Workers Republic established in the world; his memory will ever be fresh in the hearts and minds of the millions of people throughout the world, who are struggling and fighting for the cause, for

which he nobly gave his whole life and energy—the Battle for Economic Freedom.

On behalf of Hope Lodge No. 79, International Association of Machinists:

*R. Louwe
Secretary*

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

No. 152

**From a Member of the
Committee of the Workers'
Socialist Party of Colombia**

*To the Chairman of the Soviet Government
Moscow*

*Girardot, February 16,
1924*

As a Colombian worker and a member of the Committee of the Workers' Socialist Party, the board of the Society of Colombian Workers and the Society of Girardot Workers, I should like to convey to you, Mr. President, my heart-felt condolences on the occasion of the death of the illustrious Mr. Nikolai Lenin, the pride of international socialism and one of the most outstanding figures of our time.

The great cause championed by Lenin and his colleagues for the good of the oppressed and enslaved has resounded throughout the whole world transcending all boundaries, oceans and continents: the echo has reached the workers of our small, remote country, and we grasp hungrily at the seeds of its fruitful, regenerating teaching.

The town of Girardot, which was the first in the whole of Colombia to accept the socialist doctrine, wishes to hang a portrait of the great apostle and beloved father of the world proletariat in the meeting room of the Society of Workers. And so I, a poor worker, convinced and ardent socialist and fervent admirer of the great spokesman for the strivings of the workers, humbly beg the Chairman of the Soviets to send us a portrait of our friend and teacher.

Desiring to study the latest works which give the best illustration of our efforts, I make bold to ask you,

Mr. Chairman, to send us, if possible, those books which you consider to be the best and most suitable for instructing the workers.

I remain your devoted servant and comrade in the cause of international socialism.

Estebán Sánchez

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original in Spanish

No. 153

From the Persian Consul
in Batumi

*To the Agent of the Commissioner
of the People's Commissariat for
Foreign Affairs to Transcaucasian
Republics*

I have just received the news of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the first leader of the greatest revolution, its inspiration, its genius and creator, its wisest guide.

For the country which I represent V. I. Lenin was its closest friend, a source of firm hope for its emancipation.

It grieves me deeply to think that the leader and friend of all unfortunate people and countries, a man so unforgettable, so vitally needed and irreplaceable, so modest in all his greatness and yet so close to each and everyone of us, is no more.

Kindly accept and convey to the Government of the Soviet Republics, Citizen Agent of the Commissioner, my deep condolences on the occasion of such a grievous loss.

*Mamed-khan
Persian Consul in Batumi*

C.P.A. I.M.L.

No. 154

From the Argentinian Union
of Metalworkers

*To Soviet Metalworkers
Moscow*

January 26, 1924

The metalworkers of Argentina mourn the death of the genius of the world revolution and declare that they will strive with all their power for the destruction of capitalism.

*Raphael Greco
General Secretary*

C.P.A. I.M.L.

No. 155

From the Australian
Women Workers'
Organisation

*To the Secretary of the Russian
Communist Party*

*Brisbane, Queensland
February 26, 1924*

Dear Comrade,

The members of the above-named organisation wish me to convey to you their deepest regret at the irreparable loss the World's Workers have sustained on the death of *Nickolai Lenin* and to offer their sympathy with the Russian people who have lost so beloved a leader.

With greetings,

Yours for working class emancipation,

E. A. Edmunds
Honorary Secretary

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

No. 156

From the Universal Negro
Improvement Association

*To the All-Union Congress,
Moscow¹*

Please accept the deep sorrow and condolences of the four hundred million Negroes of the world over the death of *Nickolai Lenin* and the irreparable loss of the Russian people. To us *Lenin* was one of the world's greatest benefactors.

Long live the Soviet Government of Russia.

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Original

¹ At this time the 2nd All-Union Congress of Soviets was being held in Moscow.

Vasil Kolarov¹

The formation of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its subsequent strategy are deeply indebted to Lenin's teaching. His name was heard increasingly in Bulgarian Social-Democrat circles after the First World War had been declared. At that time we received a letter from Plckhanov urging us to campaign against Germany and in support of the Entente. We were forced to make a choice between this policy and the position adopted by Comrade Lenin. As you know, we chose the latter—the Bulgarian "tesnyaki" declared their support for Comrade Lenin, voting against the war and against war credits.

The Bulgarian "tesnyaki" representatives also came out in support of Comrade Lenin at the Zimmerwald Conference. It is true that a certain section of our comrades had not yet managed to reject the false hope of restoring the old International. Nevertheless we showed a sufficiently clear appreciation of the perceptive, bold ideas put forward by Comrade Lenin who had already (at the Zimmerwald Conference) proposed the formation of a new, revolutionary International. At his first appeal for the creation of such an Inter-

¹ Kolarov, Vasil Petrov (1877-1950)—an active figure in the Bulgarian and international working-class movements. Member of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party from 1897. Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party ("tesnyaki") from 1905, and Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party from 1919 to 1923. Member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern from 1922 to 1943. One of the leaders of the Resistance movement against the fascist regime in Bulgaria during the Second World War. Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic from 1945 to 1947. Held the posts of Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1947 to 1949 and of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 1949 to 1950.

national in 1919 the Bulgarian "tesnyaki" joined the Comintern.

After the October Revolution the Bulgarian "tesnyaki" pledged themselves to the task of establishing Soviet power in Bulgaria based on the Russian model—Lenin's model. From that moment onwards up to the present day the Bulgarian Communist Party has unswervingly followed the course mapped out by Comrade Lenin. His theories on the union of workers and peasants have been of particular importance for the Bulgarian revolutionary movement.

The armed uprising in September of last year was a real attempt to put these theories into practice. Many peasants went into battle with these words on their lips: "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Soviets! Long live Comrade Lenin!"

Izvestia, January 27, 1924

No. 158

Zakharia¹

The young Communist Party of India was created, one might say, under the direct influence of the teaching of Comrade Lenin. Indian Communist Party leaders frequently discussed the revolutionary movement in the British colonies with Lenin personally thus drawing on the richest source of revolutionary thought.

The British imperialists ruling India are too afraid of communist ideas for us to be able to spread Leninism on a really large scale. But I shall not be exaggerating if I say that the image of Lenin as a leader and apostle of national liberation is as deeply implanted in the Indian masses as it is in the hearts of the revolutionary proletariat of Western Europe.

Let me quote the following example in support of this statement: one of the Indian nationalist magazines once printed a large picture of the seven prophets and outstanding figures of history. Among them next to Buddha, Christ and the leader of the India nationalist movement, Gandhi, was the portrait of Lenin. This picture was immediately reprinted in several editions and thousands of copies of it were sold all over India.

I can best express the attitude of the vast mass of Indians to Lenin by quoting the words of a few Indians with whom I once happened to be talking about him. They described their picture of him as follows: "Lenin is on the side of the poor. Lenin wants everyone to be happy."

*Politiki i pisateli Zapada i Vostoka
o Lenine*
(Politicians and Writers of the West
and East on Lenin), Moscow, 1924

¹ Zakharia, Rahmad Karim Elhi (b. 1894)—an Indian revolutionary. Emigrated to Afghanistan in 1915 where he carried on revolutionary activity among the tribes of North-West India. Came to the Soviet Union in 1920 where he joined the Indian communist group in Tashkent. Subsequently taught Urdu in the Institute of Oriental Studies. Author of many articles on the peasant movement in India.

No. 159

Maring

Ever since the October Revolution the name of Lenin has been deeply admired on the island of Java among the broad mass of workers in the sugar industry, on the railways and in many other spheres. His name even commands the profound respect of the Islam Union of Town and Country. Lenin's name has become a slogan for the future liberation of the colonial peoples and these peoples are beginning to realise it for themselves: portraits of Lenin, brochures written by him and translated into Malay and other objects have been confiscated by the police on several occasions from the Indians and Chinese living in Java. Portraits of Vladimir Ilyich are widespread among the Javanese. An illegal film of Lenin's life and activity is frequently shown here. Malay translations of his works play an extremely important part in the spreading of Leninism.

At the present time the Central Committee of the Javanese party is translating his major works into Malay and Javanese.

*Dutch East India
(Java)*

Izvestia, January 27, 1924

No. 160

Lenin—the Guiding Star

At first I was unaware of what Lenin had done for us workers. It was only after I had been to the Soviet Union and seen the great achievements of the October Revolution with my own eyes that I realised how great a role Lenin played in your revolution. His contribution to the world revolutionary movement was equally impressive. We were inspired by the example of the workers in the U.S.S.R. On our return we began to collect funds for building a workers' rest home.

We called the home after Lenin because it was our first Leninist victory. It now contains a Lenin Room in which we hold all our meetings, readings and discussions. So far the room does not contain many books, but we hope that by gradually adding to our collection we shall build up a good library of his works.

Each year we mark the anniversary of Lenin's death by holding memorial meetings attended by thousands of workers.

Lenin is the guiding star of the workers of all countries.

Anna Boida
Textile worker from Henihen,
Czechoslovakia

Belorusskaya rabotnitsa i selyan-
ka (Byelorussian Women
Factory and Farm Workers)
No. 1 (39), 1928

No. 161

Lenin—Banner of the Oppressed

For the Negroes of the hills of Africa Lenin represents the banner of black Negro liberation. He was the first to call them human beings and the first to raise his voice for their liberation.

Lenin is the acknowledged friend and liberator of all those who inhabit the remote African jungle under the scorching rays of the sun.

Our working conditions are difficult, and even more difficult is the work of spreading Lenin's teaching among the illiterate black people.

But they know instinctively that Lenin is their banner, the shining star of their liberation.

S. D a m b e
Johannesburg, South Africa

Belorusskaya rabotnitsa i selyan-
ka (Byelorussian Women
Factory and Farm Workers)
No. 1 (39), 1928

No. 162

Henri Barbusse

Dear Comrade,

I did not reply immediately to your request that I should send you my views on Lenin, because I did not dare to take this task upon myself. The mere mention of his name seems to say too many things for anyone to venture to develop them further in an appreciation, and I am still recovering from the painful shock produced by the news of the sad departure of such an individual. For me Lenin was one of the most powerful and all-embracing figures in history. He stands head and shoulders above all those other great figures who have advanced the cause of humanity over the centuries. Many a time I have been acutely aware of and given expression to this idea: what strikes me above all about his teaching, intelligence and will, is his ability to search for and discern that which is real out of the vast human comedy, from that which is empty verbiage and illusion. He endowed modern thought, which was groping about in the dark, with a sense of purpose and true creation, militant positivism, Red logic and Red truth. He showed that henceforth a great change would take place in the order of things, because legends, ideologies, poetry and phantasmagoria would be replaced by the profound life of the masses which must rise up from the depths. If this truly novel and all-powerful idea is beginning to take shape and turn into a natural force as invincible as it is infallible, it is thanks to this man's historical presence. No praise can be worthy enough of the one who discerned and directed the force of the masses as he did.

C.P.A. I.M.L.
Translated from the French
original

No. 163

Romain Rolland

January 1924

I did not share the ideas of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks and never attempted to conceal this.

I am too much of an individualist (and idealist) to be able to accept the Marxist creed and its materialist fatalism. But this is precisely why I attach such great importance to outstanding figures and why I have the deepest admiration for Lenin. I know of no other more powerful personality in 20th-century Europe. He steered the helm of his will so powerfully in the ocean of feeble mankind that the deep furrows of his wake will cut the surface for many a long years; despite all storms his boat is sailing full speed ahead for the new world.

Never since the time of Napoleon I has history known such an iron will.

Never since the time of the martyrs have European religions known an apostle with such an invincible faith.

Never before has mankind produced such a generous ruler of men's minds.

The bronze cast of his moral image which he fashioned during his lifetime will long withstand the ravages of time.

Molodoi Kommunist No. 4, 1963

No. 164

Henriette Roland-Holst

The French philosopher Guyau shows that ethics is the unity of self. This theory is entirely applicable to Lenin. Periods of social change and the collapse of old forms of production and ways of life are invariably accompanied by the inner fragmentation of the individual. At such times there are only a very few people who remain completely integrated and morally strong. Lenin was such a person. He was moulded in a single piece and this dictated the integrated quality of his life. This inner unity and integrity explain his amazing strength, his almost superhuman sense of humour in all situations and circumstances. He looked on and assessed all people and things from the point of view of their importance for the proletarian revolution; just as he himself dismissed from his inner and outer life, from his thoughts and feelings everything that could not serve the proletarian revolution. He became a symbol of complete unity of thought, will and aspiration which was indispensable for the victory of the working class.

Izvestia, February 9, 1924

Part Five

FOREIGN FRIENDS REMINISCE

No. 165

**From an Interview with
a Swiss Social-Democrat
Leader Published in the
"Tribune de Genève"**

The year is 1908. Lenin and his wife have just returned to Geneva and are living at 61, rue des Maraîchers.

They led a very modest life, and this morning one of the present leaders of the Geneva Socialist Party described the interior of the two rooms which they rented.

The furniture consisted of two iron bedsteads, a rickety table covered with piles of magazines and brochures, a few kitchen utensils, three stools and that was the lot.

One day I arrived at the rue des Maraîchers . . . to find Comrade Lenin helping his wife with the housework. . . .

When his wife was not at home Comrade Lenin would go and have a meal for 80 centimes in a small restaurant on the rue de Carouge, run by a Russian émigré. Apart from helping with the housework Lenin would work hard burning the midnight oil in the tiny kitchen. The political refugee Ulyanov, a man of remarkable intelligence, could speak and write German, English and French fluently.

His intense activity naturally attracted the attention of the Geneva police, but the latter never had occasion to approach him.

What else is there to say about Lenin's stay in Geneva? That he was a frequent visitor to the University library and the Lecture Society.

Comrade Lenin attracted attention particularly by his shabby clothes. He could be seen in winter wearing an old worn-out coat which, over the years, had passed through all the colours of the rainbow.

L'Humanité, January 26, 1924

Vladimir Ilyich's Circle in Paris

A good forty-five years ago, in 1908² I left the Hungarian town of Bekescsaba as a young tailor's apprentice to travel round the world and seek my fortune. I went to Paris.

There I found work sometimes in small workshops, sometimes in large factories employing several hundred people. At that time I was a young lad of sixteen just bursting to see and find out about everything. I became a member of a progressive trade union organisation, the *Confédération Générale du Travail*,³ but felt that I needed something more than this. I used to go to workers' meetings, listen to the inspiring speeches of the impassioned orator, Jean Jaurès, and attend evening lectures at the Sorbonne on various historical, political and economic subjects.

Now my recollections of all this are somewhat faded, but there is one episode which still stands out clearly in my mind. One day at the Sorbonne someone asked the lecturer who would lead mankind forward into the future. The reply was that such a leader would emerge

¹ Petrovski, Pal (b. 1891)—a tailor who began to take part in the working-class movement in 1906. From 1908 to 1914 he worked in Paris where he got to know the émigré Russian revolutionaries. During the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 he held the post of regional commissar for industry and finance. Emigrated after the fall of the Republic, returning to Hungary in 1929. In 1945 he was appointed a regional chief of police and subsequently held various administrative posts in government organisations.

² These reminiscences were written in 1953.

³ The *Confédération Générale du Travail* (General Confederation of Labour) is the national confederation of French trade unions formed in 1895. At that time it was under the influence of the anarcho-syndicalists and reformists.

from the ranks of the Russian Social-Democrats, since everything pointed to the fact that the most major revolutionary events would take place in tsarist Russia.

It may have been this remark, more of a prophecy than a scientific explanation, which encouraged me to find out more about Russian revolutionary émigré life. Another thing which helped me to do this was the fact that I came to work with a young Russian called Misha Maximovich with whom I soon struck up a friendship. Like all the other Russian workers Misha was a cheerful, sociable and friendly person. He often invited me home to meet his friends. At that time I had no idea (and the Russians never even hinted at it) that this friendly crowd was in fact a political organisation. My Russian friends simply invited me along and I accepted gladly.

I visited them for the first time in 1908. There were about thirty people, most of them workers,¹ gathered in the premises of a club for Russian émigrés. They were sitting round a table listening carefully to a simply-dressed man with a gingery beard.

"That's Vladimir Ilyich," they explained to me.

I had never seen Ilyich before. At first glance there was nothing particularly striking about him. His clothes and small pointed beard were just the same as those worn by many French workers at that time. He would not have attracted anyone's attention in a factory or on the street. But here among the Russian émigrés it was obvious at once that Vladimir Ilyich was a leader. He was the person to whom everyone put their questions, from whom everyone expected an answer to difficult problems, who explained everything. He was always the centre of attention and was an acknowledged leader. You could see this immediately because all the members of the circle treated him with great affection and respect. As a young worker with very

¹ In 1908 the newspaper *Proletary* formed a Bolshevik club in Paris which used to be attended by hundreds of Russian socialists and workers. Lenin was living in Paris at that time having moved from Geneva sometime between November 29 and December 1, 1908.

little idea about politics I was at first able to grasp one thing only from all that I saw and heard: that I was attending a meeting of some sort of political circle. Vladimir Ilyich made a tremendous impression on me by the decisiveness and remarkable logic with which he explained this or that problem. When my Russian friends asked me after the meeting what I thought about it, I replied that I knew very little about these questions, but was absolutely certain that Vladimir Ilyich was right because his words carried such authority.

It was not only his words that convinced one, but his whole person and the way he carried himself commanded attention and inspired confidence. An incredibly alert and lively person, always cheerful and friendly, but at the same time unusually even-tempered—this is the mental picture I have of him now. Vladimir Ilyich always won debates because of his iron logic and power of reasoning, the like of which I have never met again since. One day when he was addressing thousands of French workers and Russian émigrés in a Paris square, someone said: "Even if you don't understand Russian you can feel that this man is right. He radiates such confidence and faith in the justness of his cause."

But there was yet another thing about Lenin that fascinated me: his simple, direct manner. He used to come to meetings cheerful and smiling and chat casually with the people there, all of whom he knew. The first time I came to one of the circle's meetings he noticed me immediately and started a conversation asking me what my name was and where I was from. I told him that I was Hungarian by nationality and my name was Petrovski. When he heard this Vladimir Ilyich smiled and said amiably: "That's a real Russian surname."

Then he asked: "Are you a worker? Are you interested in questions affecting the workers?"

He chatted with me as warmly and casually as if we were old friends.

And his behaviour was just as natural when we went

on a trip to Vigny on the outskirts of Paris, where he talked about who was betraying the working class—he looked more like an ordinary tourist than someone delivering an authoritative lecture.

Another of the characteristic features which I noticed was his unfailing precision and punctuality. There was only one single occasion on which he was late for a meeting. I was not present myself and heard about it from my friends. Vladimir Ilyich set off for the meeting on a bicycle and on the way a car ran into him from behind. He just managed to jump off in time. Without waiting for the police to take down the details of the accident, Vladimir Ilyich left the mangled remains of the bicycle and went the rest of the way on foot. Afterwards, I was told, he gave an amusing account of the incident: "So that's how I experienced the dialectic: got on a bicycle and flew off a heap of scrap iron."

I don't know whether these were his actual words, but there can be no doubt that Vladimir Ilyich always remained cheerful and kept his sense of humour whatever happened.

* * *

It was only many years later that I found out that the Vladimir Ilyich who had run the political circle in Paris was none other than Lenin himself.

O Lenine. Vospominaniya zarubezhnykh sovremennikov,
(Reminiscences of Lenin's Foreign Contemporaries), Moscow, 1962

No. 167

Karl Steinhardt (Gruber)¹

Meeting the Great Lenin

(Extract from his Memoirs)

I saw and heard Lenin for the first time in the middle of February 1910. It was in London² where I had been invited earlier, at the beginning of 1909, by the Secretariat of the London Educational Society of German Workers (in whose activities Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had taken part in their time) to take over the editorship of the Society's newspaper *Londoner Volkszeitung*³ which they had just started to publish again. In those days I was still an ardent supporter of the Otto Bauer brand of "Marxism". Socialists of all countries were deeply concerned at that time with questions relating to the Copenhagen Congress of the 2nd International⁴ shortly to be held, and above all with the problem of what attitude they should adopt towards war and militarism. For this reason the secretariat of our club decided to invite representatives of a number of European socialist parties for an exchange of views on this vitally important question. The participants in the round table conference included Ledebour, Hervé, Ramsay MacDonald, Hyndman, Bernard Shaw, Clitherin and Steinhardt. The Russian comrades had promised that Lenin would come to

¹ Steinhardt (Gruber), Karl—veteran in the Austrian working-class movement, one of the founders of the Austrian Communist Party and delegate to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd congresses of the Comintern.

² No other documentary evidence can be found to confirm this visit of Lenin's to London.

³ This newspaper appeared in London from 1909 to 1910.

⁴ The International Socialist Congress was held in Copenhagen from August 15 (28) to August 21 (September 3), 1910.

London for one day. He did in fact arrive although somewhat late. He apologised for the delay due to fog over the Channel.

All those present gave their views on the threat of war. It was clear to everyone that we were on the threshold of war, but there was disagreement on what stand the proletariat of the belligerent countries should take in the event of war. The socialists of the West European countries persistently identified the interests of the proletariat in these countries with those of their own bourgeoisie.

"If Germany wins, the port of London will be finished," said MacDonald.

"If England wins, the port of Hamburg will be finished," Ledebour objected.

"We'll vote against war with both hands," Hervé declared, "but we must have Alsace-Lorraine."

I also expressed my fear of what would happen if Russia should win: then in that case, I said, pan-Slavism would gain the upper hand.

Lenin was the last to speak. Throughout the previous addresses he had been making rapid notes on a small pad and listening attentively to the debate, chin cupped in hand, occasionally smiling and sometimes narrowing his eyes in concentration. In his speech he dwelt primarily on the main point, namely the nature of the forthcoming war. He gave a brief, compelling analysis of the tendency of capitalism in the leading West European countries to extend its power all over the world. Then he summarised the difference between the highly developed and backward countries and outlined the main features of imperialism which was seeking to plunge the world into the abyss of war in order to redivide it. Regardless of the victory or defeat of this or that country, the working class would be bound to lose if it gave way to chauvinist appeals. There are two types of war. One is war fought in the interests of the capitalists, and the working class should oppose this with all its might. But there is also a just war in which the people, the oppressed classes struggle for their liberation. This

war, this revolutionary war, must command the support of the world proletariat. After this general exposé Lenin proceeded to comment on the remarks made by previous speakers brilliantly demonstrating their erroneous nature.

Lenin's irrefutable argument made me intensely aware that those views which I had accepted under the influence of Otto Bauer, were nothing more than pseudo-Marxism. It was not easy to reject everything which I had long held to be incontrovertible. I began once again to study the writings of Marx and Engels, this time in the light of the principles supported by the Bolshevik party—Lenin's party. My comrades and I were forced to give way to Leninist dialectics, having nothing to confront it with except our own political short-sightedness. Lenin had revealed the true nature of the so-called "Austrian Marxism"—the "flower" of the 2nd International—by showing it to be a doctrine of words and not deeds. Lenin had exposed the compromises and contradictions inherent in the 2nd International. History proved the accuracy of his theories, including his assessment of Otto Bauer's "Marxism".

By the time I returned to Vienna in 1913 (where I was deported from Germany) I was already critical of the behaviour of the Social-Democrat and trade union leaders. The stronger the threat of war became, the more I began to doubt the sincerity of the statements made by the Social-Democrat leaders about their determination to fulfil their international obligations. The extent to which my doubts were justified was shown by the treacherous action of the Austrian Social Democrats in August 1914. In publishing the articles "The Great Day of the German People" and "Onward to Paris" in the newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung* the Austrian Social-Democrats and their press made a public demonstration of the most unrestrained chauvinism. It was from the same disease that the 2nd International also died an ignominious death. It became essential to wage a resolute, fundamental struggle against the shameful treachery of the leaders of the 2nd Interna-

tional and against the disorganisation which they had sown in the ranks of the world proletariat.

By now a convinced Marxist I began with a few other comrades, at first in total isolation, to launch an attack on the united nationalistic front, chauvinism and lack of political insight. We gained our strength from Marxism-Leninism.

O Lenine. Vospominaniya zarubezhnykh sovremennikov,
Moscow, 1962.

No. 168

Georg Ledebour

I had occasion to work with Lenin at international congresses in the pre-war days. Even at that early time Lenin's clear, logical thinking and his capacity for decisive action had convinced all of us that he was destined to achieve great things when the time came. In the summer of 1915 we met at the Zimmerwald Conference. This witnessed the beginning of the great fire of revolution which subsequently toppled the thrones of Russia, Germany and Austria, and led to the total collapse of the capitalist regime in Russia.

Fortified by their experience of the first Russian revolution, our Russian friends acted with more stable success in 1917, than we in Germany two years later. For more than six years now our Russian comrades have been successfully defending their gains against hostile forces and have managed to defeat the military intervention of the Entente.

By the coffin of the great Lenin it is essential that we emphasise the lessons to be learned from his work, which is an example and model to all of us. For many years the activity of most of our party leaders in the West was confined to criticising the existing order from the platform or the newspaper column. Then when the revolutionary activity of the masses suddenly put power into their hands these "leaders" of ours wasted precious time, as before, in giving a pathetic imitation

of the so-called capitalist statesmen. In so doing they not only deprived true socialists and revolutionaries of the opportunity for creative work, but seriously compromised socialism in the eyes of the working masses. It is Lenin alone through his bold, colossal work who can teach all of us how to make the revolution staunchly and resolutely by creating something new in accordance with his carefully worked out plan.

Izvestia, January 30, 1924

Ahead, Irresistible

It was just 8.40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of the presidium,¹ with Lenin—great Lenin—among them. A short, stocky figure, with a big head set down in his shoulders, bald and bulging. Little eyes, a snubbish nose, wide, generous mouth, and heavy chin; clean-shaven now, but already beginning to bristle with the well-known beard of his past and future. Dressed in shabby clothes, his trousers much too long for him. Unimpressive, to be the idol of a mob, lived and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colourless, humourless, uncompromising and detached, without picturesque idiosyncrasies—but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness, the greatest intellectual audacity....

Now Lenin, gripping the edge of the reading stand, letting his little winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there waiting, apparently oblivious to the long-rolling ovation, which lasted several minutes. When it finished, he said simply, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!" Again that overwhelming human roar.

"The first thing is the adoption of practical measures to realise peace.... We shall offer peace to the

¹ This refers to the Presidium of the second session of the 2nd All-Russia Congress of Soviets held on October 26 (November 8), 1917.

peoples of all the belligerent countries upon the basis of the Soviet terms—no annexations, no indemnities, and the right of self-determination of peoples. At the same time, according to our promise, we shall publish and repudiate the secret treaties.... The question of War and Peace is so clear that I think that I may, without preamble, read the project of a Proclamation to the Peoples of All the Belligerent Countries...."

His great mouth, seeming to smile, opened wide as he spoke; his voice was hoarse—not unpleasantly so, but as if it had hardened that way after years and years of speaking—and went on monotonously, with the effect of being able to go on forever.... For emphasis he bent forward slightly. No gestures. And before him, a thousand simple faces looking up in intent adoration.

Proclamation to the Peoples and Governments of All the Belligerent Nations

The Workers' and Peasants' Government, created by the revolution of November 6th and 7th and based on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, proposes to all the belligerent peoples and to their Governments to begin immediately negotiations for a just and democratic peace.

The Government means by a just and democratic peace, which is desired by the immense majority of the workers and the labouring classes, exhausted and depleted by the war—that peace which the Russian workers and peasants, after having struck down the tsarist monarchy, have not ceased to demand categorically—immediate peace without annexations (that is to say, without conquest of foreign territory, without forcible annexation of other nationalities), and without indemnities.

The Government of Russia proposes to all the belligerent peoples immediately to conclude such a peace, by showing themselves willing to enter upon the deci-

sive steps of negotiations aiming at such a peace, at once, without the slightest delay, before the definitive ratification of all the conditions of such a peace by the authorised assemblies of the people of all countries and of all nationalities. . . .¹

When the grave thunder of applause had died away, Lenin spoke again:

"We propose to the Congress to ratify this declaration. We address ourselves to the Governments as well as to the peoples, for a declaration which would be addressed only to the peoples of the belligerent countries might delay the conclusion of peace. The conditions of peace, drawn up during the armistice, will be ratified by the Constituent Assembly. In fixing the duration of the armistice at three months, we desire to give to the peoples as long a rest as possible after this bloody extermination, and ample time for them to elect their representatives. This proposal of peace will meet with resistance on the part of the imperialist governments—we don't fool ourselves on that score. But we hope that revolution will soon break out in all the helligrent countries; that is why we address ourselves especially to the workers of France, England and Germany. . . .

"The revolution of November 6th and 7th," he ended, "has opened the era of the Social Revolution. . . . The labour movement, in the name of peace and Socialism, shall win, and fulfil its destiny. . . ."

There was something quiet and powerful in all this, which stirred the souls of men. It was understandable why people believed when Lenin spoke. . . .

Then one after another, amid rising enthusiasm: Ukrainian Social-Democracy, support; Lithuanian Social-Democracy, support; Populist Socialists, support; Polish Social-Democracy, support; Polish Socialists, support—but would prefer a Socialist coalition; Lettish Social-Democracy, support. . . . Something was kindled in these men. One spoke of the "coming world

revolution, of which we are the advance-guard"; another of "the new age of brotherhood, when all the peoples will become one great family. . . ." An individual member claimed the floor. "There is contradiction here," he said. "First you offer peace without annexations and indemnities, and then you say you will consider all peace offers. To consider means to accept. . . ."

Lenin was on his feet. "We want a just peace, but we are not afraid of a revolutionary war. . . . Probably the imperialist Governments will not answer our appeal—but we shall not issue an ultimatum to which it will be easy to say no. . . . If the German proletariat realises that we are ready to consider all offers of peace, that will perhaps be the last drop which overflows the bowl—revolution will break out in Germany. . . .

"We consent to examine all conditions of peace, but that doesn't mean that we shall accept them. . . . For some of our terms we shall fight to the end—but possibly for others we will find it impossible to continue the war. . . . Above all, we want to finish the war. . . ."

Suddenly, by common impulse, we found ourselves on our feet, mumbling together into the smooth lifting unison of the *Internationale*. A grizzled old soldier was sobbing like a child. Alexandra Kollontai rapidly winked the tears back. The immense sound rolled through the hall, burst windows and doors and seared into the quiet sky. "The war is ended! The war is ended!" said a young workman near me, his face shining. And when it was over, as we stood there in a kind of awkward hush, some one in the back of the room shouted, "Comrades! Let us remember those who have died for liberty!" So we began to sing the Funeral March, that slow, melancholy and yet triumphant chant, so Russian and so moving. The *Internationale* is an alien air, after all. The Funeral March seemed the very soul of those dark masses whose delegates sat in this hall, building from their obscure visions a new Russia—and perhaps more.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 249.

*You fell in the fatal fight.
For the liberty of the people, for the honour
of the people...
You gave up your lives and everything dear
to you...
That time is near; when tyranny falls the
people will rise, great and free!
Farewell, brothers, you chose a noble path,
At your grave we swear to fight, to work for
freedom and the people's happiness...*

For this did they lie there, the martyrs of March,¹ in their cold Brotherhood Grave on Mars Field; for this thousands and tens of thousands had died in the prisons, in exile, in Siberian mines. It had not come as they expected it would come, nor as the *intelligentsia* desired it; but it had come—rough, strong, impatient of formulas, contemptuous of sentimentalism; *real*....

Lenin was reading the Decree on Land:

(1) All private ownership of land is abolished immediately without compensation.

(2) All land-owners' estates, and all lands belonging to the Crown, to monasteries, church lands with all their live stock and inventoried property, buildings and all appurtenances, are transferred to the disposition of the township Land Committees and the district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies until the Constituent Assembly meets.

(3) Any damage whatever done to the confiscated property which from now on belongs to the whole People, is regarded as a serious crime, punishable by the revolutionary tribunals. The district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies shall take all necessary measures for the observance of the strictest order during the taking over of the land-owners' estates, for the determination of the dimensions of the plots of land and which of them are subject to confiscation, for the drawing

up of an inventory of the entire confiscated property, and for the strictest revolutionary protection of all the farming property on the land, with all buildings, implements, cattle, supplies of products, etc., passing into the hands of the people.

(4) For guidance during the realisation of the great land reforms until their final resolution by the Constituent Assembly, shall serve the following peasant *nakaz* (instructions), drawn up on the basis of 242 local peasant *nakazi* by the editorial board of the "Izvestia of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies", and published in No. 88 of said *Izvestia* (Petrograd, No. 88, August 19th, 1917).

The lands of peasants and of Cossacks serving in the Army shall not be confiscated.¹

"This is not," explained Lenin, "the project of former Minister Tchernov, who spoke of 'erecting a frame-work' and tried to realise reforms from above. From below, on the spot, will be decided the questions of division of the land. The amount of land received by each peasant will vary according to the locality. . . .

"Under the Provisional Government, the *pomieshtchiki** flatly refused to obey the orders of the Land Committees—those Land Committees projected by Lvov, brought into existence by Shingariov, and administered by Kerensky!"

... At two o'clock the Land Decree was put to vote, with only one against and the peasant delegates wild with joy. . . . So plunged the Bolsheviki ahead, irresistible, over-riding hesitation and opposition—the only people in Russia who had a definite programme of action while the others talked for eight long months.

Ten Days That Shook the World,
Moscow, pp. 140-151.

¹ Known as the February Revolution by the Old Calendar.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 260.

* Big landlords—*Ed.*

No. 170

Emil Stang

I had the good fortune to work with Lenin during the preparations for the 1st Congress of the Comintern. When I met him I was immediately struck by his superiority in relation to all of us, but even more by his incredible modesty. In those historic days he was not only our great, clairvoyant teacher but also our best and warmest comrade.

Izvestia, January 29, 1924

No. 171

Bohdan Zyranik

I Heard Lenin

August 2, 1918 was a great day for the soldiers in the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment, as the Polish poet Bohdan Zyranik recalls. On this day they had the honour of receiving Lenin as a guest in their barracks and hearing him speak. . . .¹

The soldiers listened to Lenin their attention riveted on him, drinking in his every word. "Soviet power can rely on Polish defenders of the revolution," they pledged in their speeches. And this was not just an empty phrase: Polish soldiers showed their devotion to the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the fierce battles of the Civil War.

Dyelo trudyashchikhsya vsego mira (Cause of the World's Working People), Moscow, 1957

¹ The Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment consisted of 16,000 Polish volunteers who were engaged in constant fighting with the whiteguards. On Friday, August 2, 1918 a meeting addressed by Lenin was held in the former Institute of Commerce (now the G. V. Plekhanov Moscow Institute of Economics) just before the regiment was to leave for the front. One of the meeting's organisers was that eminent figure in the Polish working-class movement, Julian Marchlewski (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 38).

Louise Bryant (Reed)¹

My Acquaintance with Lenin

(Extract from *Mirrors of Moscow*)

Legends spring up around every famous man... The life of the leader of a great world movement must harmonise with his doctrines: his conduct must be as austere or as lax as his doctrines dictate... So it is worthy of note that even the narrowest moralist could not pick a flaw in Lenin's personal conduct.

...Whatever inward storms arose he was impressive because of his outward serenity, because of his calm... Without any fuss he took power, faced world opposition, civil war, disease, defeat and even success. Without fuss he retired for a space, and without fuss he has returned again. His quiet authoritativeness inspired more confidence than could any amount of pomp. I know of no character in history capable, as he was through such distressing days, of such complete, aristocratic composure.

...I will never forget the day during the blackest time of the blockade when I went to Lenin and asked permission to go to the Middle East after the Foreign Office had flatly refused me this permission. He simply looked up from his work and smiled.

"I am glad to see there is someone in Russia," he said, "with enough energy to go exploring. You might get killed down there, but you will have the most

¹ Bryant, Louise (1890-1936)—an American journalist and the wife of John Reed. Came to Russia in the autumn of 1917 with a group of journalists and subsequently returned on frequent occasions.

remarkable experience of your life; it is worth taking chances for."

In two days I was on my way, with every necessary permit to ride on any train or stop in any government hotel. I carried a personal letter from Lenin and had two soldiers for escort! Any other official in Russia would have considered me an infernal nuisance even to suggest such an adventure in the middle of a revolution.

...In private conversation, no subject is too small for his attention. I remember one time some foreign delegates were talking about the Russian theatre and particularly about the lack of costumes and stage property.

Someone said that Geltser, the great ballerina, complained that she had no silk stockings. The delegates were of the opinion that this was a slight matter. Not so Lenin. He frowned and said he would see to it that Geltser had everything she needed immediately. Calling his stenographer, he dictated a letter to Lunacharsky about it. Yet Lenin had never seen Geltser dance and took no further interest in the affair.

...She* invited me to take tea with her in her apartment and I was very glad to go, since I wanted to see for myself how the Lenins lived.

They have two small rooms, which is the regulation in overcrowded Moscow. Everything was spotlessly clean, though, as she explained, she had no servant. There were quantities of books, plants in the windows, a few chairs, a table, beds and no pictures on the walls.

I found her to have the same charm which Lenin has and the same way of focussing all her attention on what her visitor is saying. When you go to Lenin's office he always jumps up and comes forward smiling, shakes hands warmly and pushes forward a comfortable chair. When you are seated he draws up another chair, leans forward and begins to talk as if there was nothing else to do in the world but visit.

* Nadezhda Krupskaya.—Ed.

He likes harmless gossip and will laugh mightily over some story about how Mr. Vanderlip fought with a Hungarian over a few sticks of wood on a cold day, or an incident which occurred on a train, or in the street. He himself loves to tell stories, and tells them very well. But no conversation runs on lightly for long with Lenin. He will stop suddenly in his laughter and say:

"What sort of a man is Mr. Harding,¹ and what is his background?"

It does not matter how determined one is to ply him with questions, one always goes away astonished because one has talked so much and answered so many questions instead of asking them. He has an extraordinary way of drawing one out and of putting one in an expansive mood.

This capacity for personal contact must be a big influence with the men with whom he comes constantly in touch.

Louise Bryant, *Mirrors of Moscow*, U.S.A., 1923

¹ Harding, Warren Gamaliel—a rich American industrialist and Republican, hostile towards Soviet Russia. President of the U.S.A. (1921-1923).

No. 173

The American Journalist McBride¹ Interviews Lenin

A little over two months ago, Mr. Isaac McBride came out of Soviet Russia, or to be precise, on October 10. Before leaving Moscow for Petrograd, in the latter part of September, he went to the Kremlin to interview Nicholas Lenin, the Premier of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. He had secured the necessary papers to admit him to the Kremlin enclosure which is guarded, naturally, as the seat of the executive government. He was to meet Mr. Lenin at 3 p.m., and he had been informed by the Foreign Office that the Premier was a busy man and that if there were any specific questions to put to him, it would be better to write them out beforehand, in order to cover as much ground as possible during the 15 minutes' time which had been allotted for the interview. However, the conversation proved of such interest, certainly to Mr. McBride, and presumably to Mr. Lenin, that the time was extended to one hour and twenty minutes.

"I approached the Kremlin enclosure," says Mr. McBride. "It was guarded by two Russian soldiers who inspected my pass, and proceeded to a small frame office beyond the bridge, where a civilian grants passes to enter the Kremlin buildings and return to the outside. It has been said many times that Mr. Lenin

¹ McBride, Isaac—correspondent for the American newspaper *Christian Science Monitor*, who was given an interview by Lenin at the end of September 1919. Entry into Russia was prohibited at that time because of the blockade. McBride first travelled to Latvia where he crossed the frontier and spent some time at the front during the civil war. His interview with Lenin was published in the *Christian Science Monitor* for December 17, 1919.

is guarded by Chinese soldiers. It is true that he is well guarded, but while I looked very carefully for Chinese soldiers, I found none inside the Kremlin walls. In fact I could find none in all Moscow and Petrograd."

In Mr. Lenin's Office

"I mounted the hill and walked toward the building where Mr. Lenin lives and has his office. I was met at the outer door by two more soldiers, young Russians. My pass was again inspected and I was directed up a long staircase, at the top of which were two more Russian soldiers. I passed down a long corridor and approached a door in front of which another Russian soldier was sitting. My pass was again examined, and I was told to enter the room.

"In this room many clerks were at work, both men and women. Everybody was busy over a desk or typewriter, and there was a general atmosphere of energy and accomplishment. I was asked to go into the next room (Russian rooms are *en suite*), and found myself in the presence of Mr. Lenin's secretary, who informed me that 'Comrade Lenin will be at liberty in a few minutes'. I looked at the clock on the wall. It still lacked five minutes of three. I sat down, and one of the clerks handed me a copy of *The Times* of London."

While reading an editorial Mr. McBride was addressed by the secretary who told him to go into the next room. His back was toward the door of this room, and as he turned the door opened and Mr. Lenin stood there smiling.

"It was then twelve minutes past three," says Mr. McBride, "and the first words he uttered were, 'I am glad to meet you, and I want to apologise for keeping you waiting.'"

Mr. Lenin Described

"Mr. Lenin is a man middle height, close of 50 years of age. He is well proportioned and very active physic-

ally, in spite of the fact that he carries in his body two bullets fired at him one year ago last August. His head is rather large, massive in outline, and is set close to his shoulders. The forehead is broad and high, the mouth large ... the eyes wide apart, and there appears in them at times a very infectious twinkle. His hair, pointed beard and moustache, have a brown tinge.

"In conversation his eyes never leave those of the person to whom he is speaking. In replying to questions he does not hesitate, but goes straight to the point. He pushed a chair over near his desk for me, and turned his own chair in my direction. After we had been talking for some time about conditions throughout the world he said that he would be glad to answer any questions."

Not a Minority Dictatorship

On being informed that newspapers, periodicals, and magazines in the various countries had been stating for the past 22 months that Soviet Russia was a dictatorship of a small minority led by himself and Mr. Trotsky, Mr. Lenin replied: "That, of course, is not true. Let those who believe that silly tale come here and mingle with the rank and file and learn the truth. The vast majority of industrial workers, and at least one-half of the articulate peasantry are for Soviet rule and are defending it." He continued, "You say you have been along the Western front. You admit you have been allowed to mingle with the soldiers of Soviet Russia; that you have been unhampered, as a journalist, in making your investigation. You have also visited factories and workshops. You have had a very good opportunity to understand the temper of the rank and file. You have seen thousands of men living from day to day on black bread and tea. You have probably seen more suffering in Soviet Russia than you had ever deemed possible, and all this because of the unjust war being made upon us, including the economic blockade, in all of which your own country is playing

a large part. Now I ask what is your opinion about this being a dictatorship of the minority?"

In answer to the question: "What have you to say at this time about peace and foreign concessions?" Mr. Lenin said, "I am often asked whether those American opponents of the war against Russia—as in the first place bourgeois—are right, who expect from us, after peace is concluded, not only resumption of trade relations but also the possibility of securing concessions in Russia. I repeat once more that they are right. A durable peace would be such a relief to the toiling masses of Russia that these masses would undoubtedly agree to certain concessions being granted. The granting of concessions under reasonable terms is also desirable for us, as one of the means of attracting into Russia the technical help of the countries which are more advanced in this respect, during the coexistence side by side of socialist and capitalist states."

*Predicts
that Soviets Will Win*

Continuing he said: "As for Soviet power, it has become familiar to the minds and hearts of the laboring masses of the whole world which clearly grasped its meaning. Everywhere the laboring masses—in spite of the influence of the old leaders with their chauvinism and opportunism, which permeates them through and through—became aware of the rottenness of the bourgeois parliaments and of the necessity of Soviet power, the power of the toiling masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the sake of the emancipation of humanity from the yoke of capital. And the Soviet power will win in the whole world, however furiously, however frantically, the bourgeoisie of all countries may rage and storm.

"The bourgeoisie inundates Russia with war and by inciting against us the counter-revolutionaries, those who wish the yoke of capital to be restored. The bourgeoisie inflicts upon the working masses of Russia unprecedented sufferings, through the blockade, and

through their help given to the counter-revolutionaries, but we have already defeated Kolchak and we are carrying on the war against Denikin with the firm assurance of our coming victory."

"How simple and plain he was," Mr. McBride states.

"He wore workman's shoes, a frayed pair of trousers, a soft shirt with a black four-in-hand tie, and a cheap office coat. The man works from 15 to 18 hours a day, receiving reports and keeping in touch with the situation over the whole country of Russia: attending committee meetings, delivering lectures, ready to give anyone the benefit of his knowledge, no matter who it may be. He lives with his wife in the same building where he has his office, in two modestly furnished rooms."

*Christian Science Monitor,
December 17, 1919.*

Thomas Bell¹

My Recollections of Lenin

During the period of the revolutionary struggle for power and the days following October 1917 communication between Soviet Russia and the outside capitalist world was almost broken off completely. It was still very poor at the beginning of 1921. At this moment I received instructions to go to Moscow, to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, as the first official representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

At that time it was an extremely difficult business for an English worker to get a passport to travel abroad. But once I had managed to get one after a great deal of red tape, I came up against another serious obstacle: how to get a transit visa for the other capitalist countries. The difficulties involved in obtaining visas convinced me that there was some sort of tacit understanding or agreement between the various consulates to limit the issue of visas to persons travelling to the land of the Soviets. Consequently I decided to try and travel without documents or luggage. This I did and eventually arrived in Moscow in March 1921 after a journey lasting several weeks.

The Comintern offices at that time were in a small house in Denezhny Pereulok, a turning off Arbat, and

¹ Bell, Thomas (1882-1940)—a Scottish founder. Joined the English Independent Labour Party in 1900. Played an active part in the factory committee movement during the First World War. One of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1920. Member of the party's Central Committee and Political Bureau from 1920 to 1929. Delegate to the 3rd, 6th and 7th congresses of the Comintern. Represented the British Communist Party on the Executive Committee of the Comintern from 1921 to 1922 and 1926-1928, to which he was elected a member at the 6th Congress of the Comintern in 1928.

had a small staff. In the breaks between meetings the delegates used to study revolutionary events, carry on international propaganda and, of course, attend all manner of Party and Soviet meetings.

It was at one such Party meeting that I first saw and heard Lenin. I think it was a meeting of Party activists after the 10th Party Congress held in the Kremlin in May 1921, at which Lenin had discussed the replacement of the surplus appropriation system by tax in kind.¹ I arrived slightly late, through no fault of my own, but was immediately taken up to the entrance to the platform. The platform and the whole hall were packed. People standing in the wings were craning their necks so as not to lose sight of the speaker or miss a single word. The speaker was Lenin. The audience were so engrossed in his speech that they were literally crowding round the platform, some of them even leaning up against it.

In meetings of this kind the interpreter is always in a very difficult position. His attention is so taken up with what is actually happening that he sometimes forgets his official job. I am afraid this was the case on this occasion too. I have rarely experienced a political meeting conducted in such an atmosphere of friendly good humour. The New Economic Policy had just been introduced. Times were hard. Deviationists within the Party ranks had been discovered on the eve of the Congress. Lenin's point of view had completely won the day at the 10th Congress. Now the main task facing the whole Party was to get down to action, but first of all it was necessary to remove the opposition. So here was Lenin attacking the dangerous, politically mistaken views of the opposition with such devastating Bolshevik criticism that frequent bursts of laughter broke out in the hall.

On the eve of the 3rd Congress of the Comintern several meetings of the enlarged plenum of the

¹ The writer is evidently referring to Lenin's speech at the 10th All-Russia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.) held from May 26-28, 1921.

Executive Committee of the Comintern were held in the building opposite the House of Trade Unions on the corner of Sverdlov Square. At these meetings there was serious discussion of the situation in Italy, the March uprising in Germany and a number of questions concerning Centrism, whose representatives were attempting to infiltrate the Comintern at that time.

Following these discussions I was quite fascinated to see how Vladimir Ilyich managed brilliantly to combine an unbending firmness and respect for principle with incredible flexibility and tact in his speeches. He could hold out his hand and correct the mistakes of those vacillating Italians who were following Serrati at that time, as well as restraining the extreme Leftists (supporters of Bordiga) who were attempting to take advantage of the opportunist mistakes of the Italian Communist Party in order to convert it to their own sectarian line.

Anyone who is familiar with the life and work of Lenin knows that he loved talking to ordinary workers and asking them detailed questions about everything. He invariably used this device to gauge the mood of the masses, visiting workers' circles in Petersburg and running them. Lenin was very fond of talking to people who had just arrived from abroad, asking them questions and listening carefully to any small tidbits of information, discussing the labour conditions and life of the working masses and their political outlook. This was one of the channels which linked Lenin's life and politics with the life and struggle of the working people. It helped him to keep more closely in touch with the mood of the workers and to adjust his tactics and Party slogans accordingly, which eventually led to victory.

Lenin had an excellent knowledge of England and the English workers' movement. In his work on imperialism¹ he gave a penetrating analysis of the

¹ The writer is referring to Lenin's work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 185-304).

role played by the English bourgeoisie in the period of the decline of parasitic, rotting capitalism. In his articles and speeches Lenin frequently returned to the question of the strategy and tactics of the English bourgeoisie who had bought the allegiance of the upper sections of the labour movement—the worker aristocracy—and were using them to influence the broad mass of the proletariat.

Lenin's articles never showed, and were incapable of showing a formal, theoretical approach towards the problem: they always directed the revolutionary workers towards actual political tasks in the current revolutionary struggle. When he was in London Lenin enjoyed visiting working-class districts and attending socialist meetings, thereby studying the English working-class movement in practice.

And this habit of chatting with ordinary workers and listening to what they had to say remained with Lenin all his life.

In 1921 when Lenin was fulfilling the onerous posts of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and leader of the Party and revolution, he still invariably found time to have a personal chat with workers' delegates from fraternal parties who arrived from abroad.

An iron-moulder by trade I had played an active part in the Scottish labour movement since 1900 as propagandist, instructor of workers' circles, strike leader, active trade union and party worker, and one of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain and met most of the labour leaders, while remaining a worker at the bench. I mention these details because in my talk with Lenin I was able to speak not only about our party, our workers' leaders and the different trends in the working-class movement, but also about the labour conditions, life and attitude of the workers themselves. And it was this that took up the greater part of our talk.

My friendly chat with Lenin took place on approximately August 3, 1921. Comrade Friis, representative of the Norwegian Communist Party, and Boris Reinstein were also present.

The talk was held in Lenin's study tucked away in one of the corners of the former High Courts of Moscow in the Kremlin.

After going up a simple, narrow staircase we came to the room where the stenographers and typists worked. Then our arrival was announced and we were invited into Lenin's study without any bureaucratic formalities and without any delay exactly on the dot of the time appointed. The furniture in the study consisted of a big desk, a few leather armchairs and two bookcases by the wall, one of which was just behind Lenin's chair enabling him to turn round and pick out a book whenever he needed it.

Lenin got up and greeted us with a warm handshake. He helped to draw a few chairs up to the table, told us to make ourselves comfortable, and then a really friendly conversation began.

First of all he enquired about our health, about where we were staying, whether we had been given a good room, how we found the food, etc. We told him that everything was fine as far as this was concerned.

He was extremely interested to hear how I had got there legally or illegally. My description of certain incidents and details of my journey amused him enormously. After this he apologised, as it were, for not having been able to pay much attention to the English movement since his illness. Drawing up his chair he began to listen to what I had to say most carefully as if he were afraid of losing a single word of what his new comrade was saying, his right elbow leaning on the desk and his right hand covering his right eye.

The conversation was about the situation in England, in particular about the Labour leaders, their personalities and their influence on the workers. We also talked about the whiteguards and their counter-revolutionary role.

And although Lenin assured us that he had not been able to follow what was happening in England carefully, he immediately amazed us by taking from his shelf several recent English publications which he had obviously read, such as Bertrand Russell's *The Practice*

and Theory of Bolshevism and R. W. Postgate's *Revolution and Bolshevik Theory*.

Lenin began to ask who Postgate was, whether he was a party member, etc. (At that time Postgate was a member of our party and deputy editor of our central organ *The Communist*. He subsequently left the party in 1923 and began to work with his father-in-law George Lansbury on the new paper *Lansbury's Weekly*.)

Commenting on Postgate's *Revolution* Lenin said that it was simply a collection of documents which were rather interesting.

"It would have been better if the author had provided us with factual information for the respective periods, dealing with each period from the point of view of the class struggle and seeing each individual document as part of the whole," he said.

We talked about the trade unions and the Labour Party, about their relative power and influence in the English working-class movement, about our Communist Party, its composition and influence among the workers. Lenin was extremely interested in the miners' movement, particularly in South Wales, and I promised to supply him with more detailed information from time to time.

When I got back to my room I made a detailed note of all the points raised in our talk. Comrade Friis asked me for these notes in order to write to the central organ of the Norwegian Communist Party and I never saw them again after that.

A few days after our talk (August 7) I sent Lenin a letter with the information which I had promised him. In it I told him about the last Congress of the South Wales Miners' Federation and its decision to join the 3rd International and, in addition, certain information which I had received from comrades who had come to the 1st Congress of the profintern held in July 1921.

This information included interesting details about the setting up of communal kitchens in Fifehire among the miners, the distribution of funds, local co-operative

aid to strikers and the role played by the marines sent to mining areas to suppress strikes. I provided a lot of information about fraternising between workers and marines and expressed the hope that Lenin would find this of interest.

And he did indeed find it so interesting that he sent me a written reply almost immediately. In return I sent him my views on the subject together with some new information which I had received. I set off for England almost immediately after writing this letter and our correspondence stopped. By the time I came back in 1922 Lenin was already ill.

Here is the full text of the letter which I received:

"Dear comrade,

"I thank you very much for your letter of August 7. I have read nothing concerning the English movement last months because of my illness and overwork.

"It is extremely interesting what you communicate. Perhaps it is the *beginning* of the real proletarian mass movement in Great Britain *in the communist sense*. I am afraid we have till now in England few very feeble propagandist societies for communism (inclusive the British Communist Party) but no really *mass* communist movement.

"If the South Wales Miners' Federation has decided on July 24 to affiliate to the Third International by a majority of 120 to 63—perhaps it is the beginning of a new era. (How many miners there are in England? More than 500,000? How much in South Wales? 25,000? How many miners were *really* represented in Cardiff July 24, 1921?)

"If these miners are not too small minority, if they fraternise with soldiers and begin a *real* "class war"—we must do all our possible to *develop* this movement and strengthen it.

"Economic measures (like communal kitchens) are good but they are not much important *now, before* the victory of the proletarian revolution in England. *Now* the *political* struggle is the most important.

"English capitalists are shrewd, clever, astute.

They *will support* (directly or indirectly) communal kitchens *in order* to divert the attention from political aims.

"What is important is (if I am not mistaken):

"1) To create a very good, really proletarian, really mass *Communist Party* in this part of England, that is, such party which will *really* be the *leading* force in all labour movement in this part of the country. (Apply the resolution on organisation and work of the Party adopted by the Third Congress to this part of your country.)

"2) To start a daily paper of the working class, for the working class in this part of the country.

"To start it not as a business (as usually newspapers are started in capitalist countries), not with big sum of money, not in ordinary and usual manner—but as an *economic* and *political* tool of the *masses* in their struggle.

"Either the miners of this district are capable to pay *halfpenny* daily (for the beginning *weekly*, if you like) for their *own* daily (or weekly) newspaper (be it very small, it is not important)—or *there is no beginning of really communist mass movement in this part of your country*.

"If the Communist Party of this district cannot collect a few pounds in order to publish *small leaflets* daily as a beginning of the really *proletarian* communist newspaper—if it is so, if *every* miner will not pay a penny for it, then there is *not serious*, not genuine affiliation to the Third International.

"English Government will apply the shrewdest means in order to suppress every beginning of this kind. Therefore we must be (in the beginning) very prudent. The paper must be *not too revolutionary* in the beginning. If you will have three editors, at least one must be *non-communist*. (At least two genuine workers.) If nine-tenths of the workers do not buy this paper, if two-thirds ($\frac{120}{120+63}$) do not pay special contributions (f. 1 penny *weekly*) for *their* paper—it will be no workers' newspaper.

"I should be very glad to have few lines from you concerning this theme and beg to apologise for my bad English.

"With communist greetings,
"Lenin"¹

And the influence of the Communist Party at that time in South Wales was, in fact, too weak. There was a Left-wing movement among the miners. Many of the workers belonging to the trade unions were in full sympathy with the Russian revolution, but not yet communist-inclined themselves. Lenin understood this. That was why he suggested beginning with something elementary yet extremely important for the whole work of the Communist Party, the publication of a small newspaper with the support of those who stood for the 3rd International. The main reason why Lenin's instructions were not carried out is the fact that the Conference vote was not the result of deeply rooted communist influence, and also the weakness of the Communist Party and its inability to comprehend the true political importance of such a movement. And in fact it was not until 9 years later, in 1930, that the Communist Party of Great Britain was capable of publishing its own daily newspaper.

As far as the organisational theses of the 3rd Congress of the Comintern were concerned, they began to be applied only in autumn 1922. This work has still not been fully completed.

The recent publication of a collection of Lenin's writings on England² constitutes a most important contribution to the English working-class movement. Lenin has left us a very rich heritage in the field of economic and political science and revolutionary literature. . . .

*O Lenine. Vospominaniya zaru-
beznykh sovremennikov,*
Moscow, 1962

Translated from the Russian

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 510-11.

² *Lenin on Britain*, London, Lawrence, 1934.

No. 175

Clara Zetkin

A Visit from Lenin

When I was on my way to the 4th Congress of the Comintern at the end of October 1922 I knew that I would see Lenin. He had recovered to such an extent that he was to present a paper on the subject "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution".¹ Could you possibly imagine a better way of celebrating the anniversary of the Russian revolution than for its fully recovered, brilliant leader to talk about it before representatives of the proletarian avant-garde? The day after I arrived one of the comrades came to my room in a state of great excitement, who looked like a typical official from the old "regime" and said:

"Comrade, Vladimir Ilyich wants to pay you a visit. That's Mr. Lenin and he'll be here any moment now".

This announcement threw me into such confusion that at first I did not even register the comic "Mr. Lenin". I jumped up from my desk and rushed to the door. Vladimir Ilyich was already standing there dressed in a grey field jacket and looking as fit and lively as he had before his illness. Whilst I was laughing and crying like a child with delight, Lenin settled down comfortably by my desk.

"Don't worry," he said in reply to my questions about his health. "I feel perfectly fit and well and I've even become 'sensible' at least according to my respected doctors' jargon. I'm working, but also being careful and following my doctors' instructions closely. I don't want to be ill any more, thank you very much. It's a wretched business—there's so much work to be done, and Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Maria Ilyichna mustn't have all this trouble and worry of look-

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 418.

ing after a sick person again. . . . History has been making great strides in Russia and the rest of the world without me. Our comrades in the Party have been co-operating splendidly and that's the most important thing. They are all extremely overworked, and I'm very pleased that I shall be able to lighten their load a little."

Then Lenin began to enquire warmly about how my sons were getting on, as he always did when we met, and finally asked me to give him an account of the situation in Germany and the German party. I did so briefly bearing in mind all the time that I must not tire him. I sensed in his request an allusion to the talk which we had had during the 3rd Congress of the Comintern. He began to joke about my "condescending approach" at that time to the Levi affair.

"Less psychology and more politics," he said. "Incidentally you showed that you were capable of this as well, in the discussions on Levi. The strong attack you made on him was entirely justified. Levi got rid of himself much more quickly and effectively than his worst enemy could have. He no longer represents the slightest danger to us now. As far as we are concerned he is simply a member of the Social-Democrats and nothing else. Nor can he become anything else even if he should happen to play quite a role there. And with the party in such a state of collapse this would not be difficult. But for a person who used to be the close friend and companion of Rosa and Karl this is the most humiliating fate imaginable. Yes, the most humiliating one. So it was quite wrong to expect that his departure and betrayal would seriously upset or harm the Communist Party. There were a few repercussions in small circles and certain individuals dropped by the wayside. But the party itself is healthy and its roots are healthy. It is following the right path towards becoming a party of the masses, guided by the revolutionary masses, the party of the German proletariat. . . .

*O Lenine. Vospominaniya zaru-
beznykh sovremennikov,*
Moscow, 1962

No. 176

*Sen Katayama*¹

Three Meetings with Lenin

I met Lenin on three occasions and consequently my recollections of him are very few and limited. These three meetings were as follows: firstly, at the session of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets held in the Bolshoi Theatre on the evening of December 23, 1921, at which Lenin presented a report,² secondly, in his study at the Kremlin in January 1922, and finally at the 4th Congress of the Communist International on November 13, 1922 in the Andreyevsky Hall at the Kremlin.

The following are the impressions which I received of Comrade Lenin from these various meetings.

I

Before actually describing my impressions of Lenin I should say a word about the picture I had of him before I met him. I had heard of the great power with which he had been able to persuade his audience at

¹ Katayama, Sen (1859-1933)—an eminent figure in the Japanese and international communist and working-class movements. One of the organisers and leaders of the Communist Party of Japan and its representative on the Executive Committee of the Comintern; a staunch fighter against imperialism and fascism and a champion of freedom, democratic rights and independence for all peoples. Having close ties with the Japanese workers' and peasants' movement Katayama was at the same time an internationalist and gave his whole life to the cause of the freedom of working people all over the world, and the struggle for the communist future of mankind. Died in Moscow and his ashes are buried by the Kremlin wall.

² This refers to the first meeting of the 9th All-Russia Congress of Soviets at which Lenin presented a report on the Republic's domestic and foreign policy (see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 141).

the time of Brest-Litovsk, and in other situations when he had got the better of his opponents in debate. But for me the best way of getting to know him was through reading his *State and Revolution*. This book gave me an insight into the true programme of the October Revolution—the programme of “the transition from capitalism to communism”.

It was a very grave and difficult time after the economic blockade, the civil war and the famine. Soviet Russia, who had succeeded in defeating her external enemies and had just introduced the New Economic Policy,¹ sent a delegation to Genoa with instructions from Comrade Lenin. At the meeting of the 9th Congress of Soviets Lenin spoke on domestic and foreign policy and gave a clear exposition of the lines to be followed. The imperialist world powers were struggling to extract themselves from the post-war crisis by means of the Washington Conference and later the Conference in Genoa to which they were compelled to invite Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia was now in a much more favourable position than at any other time in the past.

Perhaps I should explain at this point how it was that I came to be at this meeting of the Congress. Ever since 1916 I had been active in Left-wing movements in America and had assisted with the publication of the weekly *Revolutionary Age* and the monthly *Class Struggle* which aimed at explaining the Russian revolutionary movement to the American workers. . . . I arrived from Mexico, where I had been working at the time, to attend the Congress of the Toilers of the Far East.

I delivered a short message of greetings before Lenin appeared. The Bolshoi Theatre was packed to overflowing. I could see that all those present were extremely excited and tense at the prospect of Comrade Lenin's speech.

When Lenin came into the hall everyone stood up

¹ The introduction of the New Economic Policy was approved at the 10th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in March 1921.

and applauded for several minutes. After the chairman had announced the speaker and Lenin had gone up to the platform, the audience rose once again to a man and greeted him with a prolonged ovation.

My observations that evening were somewhat limited by the fact that I did not know Russian. Comrade Lenin behaved towards the audience in a very natural manner. Everyone was listening to him with remarkable attention, not moving or making a sound.

Lenin spoke for approximately three hours without showing the slightest signs of tiring and with almost no change in his intonation, developing his argument unflinchingly, explaining one point after another, and it seemed as if the audience were drinking in each word with bated breath. He did not resort to highflown rhetoric or eloquent gestures, but he possessed a personal charm which absolutely transfixed his audience: as soon as he began to speak total silence descended and all eyes were fixed on him. His glance swept over the audience as if it were hypnotising each and every member of it. I watched this huge crowd of people and not one of them moved or coughed once in three hours. They were carried away by the speaker and the time seemed to fly past. Lenin was the greatest speaker I have ever heard. When he finished his speech everyone rose, applauded and sang the *Internationale*—and on this note the meeting of the 9th All-Russia Congress of Soviets ended.

After the meeting I was received by Comrade Lenin who shook me warmly by the hand and said my name as correctly and confidently as if he had known me for ages.

II

My second meeting with Lenin was during the 1st Congress of Revolutionary Organisations of the Far East held in January 1922.

The congress had been called with the aim of uniting the revolutionary forces in the Far East and showing the revolutionary strength of the countries of the Far East to the imperialist powers, who had signed the nine-power treaty at the Washington Conference. The October Revolution had stirred the working peoples of the Far East and they soon demonstrated their strength to the Japanese imperialists, who were trying to enslave the Chinese by the humiliating demands contained in the 21 clauses; the Japanese workers showed their growing strength in the so-called "rice riots" (1918), and the Koreans in their independence movement (1919).

The above-mentioned congress was held in Moscow in January 1922 and was attended by representatives from China, Japan, Indonesia and Mongolia. There were about 200 delegates in all. The congress invited Comrade Lenin to be present and instruct the delegates. Unable to comply with this request due to ill health, Lenin invited congress representatives to visit him.

That evening those of us who had been elected by the congress went to visit Lenin in the Kremlin. We were taken to his study. It was a large room furnished simply but well. Entering the study we saw several pictures on the right wall, one of which showed a Russian revolutionary¹ of whom Lenin was extremely fond. On the left there were two large bookcases filled with books. In the middle of the room was a large table with a large comfortable armchair in which Lenin used to sit. A large number of chairs had been drawn up to the table for visitors.

We waited a few minutes for him to come in. None of the delegates apart from me had ever seen Lenin before. He arrived, shook everyone by the hand, settled down comfortably in his armchair and began to talk with the delegates of the different countries one by one.

¹ The writer appears to be referring to the bas-relief of Khaturn.

Naturally everyone listened to all the questions that were put and Lenin's useful, interesting replies.

With each delegation Lenin discussed both problems relating specifically to the country in question and those affecting the Far East as a whole. Above all he emphasised the vital importance of uniting the revolutionary forces of all the countries represented at the congress. The question of a united front also formed part of the discussions, of course; Comrade Lenin stressed the necessity of uniting the revolutionary workers of the countries of the Far East and said, looking at me:

"You have defended the idea of a united front in the Far East." He must have read my article in which I stated that the Korean and Japanese workers must form a united front against Japanese imperialism which oppresses and exploits the workers of both countries equally.

Comrade Lenin was in an excellent mood that evening and looked very well. He spoke English completely fluently and was most attentive to everyone who spoke to him—he had the gift of being an excellent listener. He knew exactly how to treat everyone and put them in good spirits. We all enjoyed ourselves and felt completely at ease. He was a great conversationalist and kept all of us entranced by what he was saying. In this brief but extremely important talk with congress members he gave a great deal of valuable advice and instructions to each delegation.

When we were about to take our leave Comrade Lenin rose and took a few steps forward to shake each of us by the hand. I was the last to bid him a warm farewell and this enabled me to exchange a few words with him.

"I understand that you are going to leave Moscow to have a rest in the country".

"Yes," Lenin replied.

"I hope that you will have a good rest and return in better health," I said.

To this Lenin replied:

"I must have a good rest because I've got to work—we've all got to work."

His tone was friendly. We shook each other warmly by the hand and I left.

III

The third and last occasion on which I was to shake Lenin's hand was during the 4th Congress of the Comintern or, to be more precise, on November 13, 1922. Lenin was about to deliver his famous speech: "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution".

The large Andreyevsky Hall was packed and the audience was waiting impatiently for Lenin to appear. As soon as the leader of the Russian revolution and the world proletariat came into the hall he was greeted with thunderous applause and prolonged acclamation. Everyone had risen to their feet to welcome him. The delegates then sang the *Internationale*.

Lenin came on to the platform and shook hands with all the members of the Presidium. I noticed that his handshake was not what it used to be and then remembered that he had been ill for a long time and that it had cost him a great effort to be present at the congress.

When he began his speech he seemed to be in perfect health and spoke almost as he had last December at the Bolshoi Theatre. He spoke in German, glancing now and then at his watch so as not to speak for more than an hour. There is little point in referring here to what he said. I should just like to say that all those present listened to him with the utmost attention in total silence.

When he finished the hall shook with applause. He sat down among those on the platform and chatted with them for a few minutes. Then he left the hall, with the audience standing as he went out.

* * *

In conclusion I should simply like to say that although my contact with Comrade Lenin was very slight and I met him only three times, I was extremely proud and happy to have the honour of meeting him personally and shaking his hand. There are many comrades who have studied and even worked under his guidance and my experience is just a drop in the ocean, but even in the Soviet Union there are millions of people who never had the good fortune to see him, listen to him and talk to him as I did. Everyone who came into contact with Lenin in everyday life has a duty to tell others about it—he owes it to the party and the revolution. This is why I have written about my recollections of Comrade Lenin.

O Lenine. Vospominaniya zarubezhnykh sovremennikov,
Moscow, 1962

No. 177

*Camilla Ravera*¹

The Power of Truth

I first visited the land of the Soviets as a member of the Italian Communist Party delegation to the 4th Congress of the Comintern in the autumn of 1922. The wave of revolution which had swept over Italy after the war was now subsiding. Fascist bands armed and hired by the landowners and capitalists were attacking the premises of workers' newspapers, trade union and political organisations. The brutal massacre of workers' and peasants' leaders had just begun. Fascism was preparing to seize power. . . .

The train was carrying us further and further from Italy. Standing by the carriage window I looked out at the fields and forests already covered with snow. We were approaching the frontier of the land of the Soviets. The birch groves stood entranced. At that moment I was thinking about the Russian people freed by the Bolsheviks from oppression. I was thinking about Lenin who had carried his people through great, heroic battles to the victorious October Revolution which opened up a new age in the history of mankind. . . .

Finally among the endless expanse of snow I saw a large, red flag—the frontier. Here was the land of

¹ Ravera, Camilla (b. 1889)—an active figure in Italian public life, member of the Italian Communist Party from the moment of its foundation and a veteran of the international communist movement. Met Lenin on several occasions. Member of the Italian delegation to the 4th Congress of the Comintern in 1922. Visited the Soviet Union with a delegation of Italian women in March 1960. Elected member of the Central Control Commission at the 9th Congress of the Italian Communist Party in 1960. Deputy in the Italian parliament.

socialism welcoming us. I shall never forget my excitement at the sight of this red flag.

The first thing we did on arrival in Moscow was to get in touch with Comrade Gramsci¹ who had been representing the Italian Communist Party on the Executive Committee of the Comintern for several months now. The news of the "fascist march" had already reached us in the capital of the land of the Soviets: Mussolini had entered Rome at the head of a band of "blackshirts". They had the open support of the ruling circles and the tacit assistance of the state authorities. The fascist regime in Italy had begun.

One morning—there were still a few days to go before the opening of the Comintern Congress—I was told: "Today you can see Lenin".

It is difficult to express in a few words what Lenin meant to the Communists, workers and peasants of Italy, and to the millions of ordinary people throughout the world. We associated his name with the victory of socialism. The working people of the whole world saw him as the embodiment of the aspirations, hopes and ideals of the oppressed and exploited classes. Lenin had become the symbol of the birth of a new world in which oppression and the enslavement of man by man would be eradicated once and for all.

The iron strength of Lenin's mind and will, the scale of his achievements conjured up in everyone the mental picture of Lenin as a mighty, majestic, almost mythical figure. This was the way I imagined him too.

We were taken to his study. Lenin walked up to greet us, warm and smiling, welcomed us in Italian and then continued in French.

I looked at him with confusion and surprise: the real Lenin was totally different from my previous picture of him. His appearance, manner and way of talking were most simple, and we were immediately at

¹ Gramsci, Antonio (1891-1937)—an eminent figure in the Italian and international communist movements and the founder and leader of the Italian Communist Party. An active opponent of fascism which seized power in Italy in 1922. Sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in 1926 and died on April 27, 1937.

ease in conversation with him. When I listened to him I felt as if I were listening to an old friend.

We told Vladimir Ilyich that we were very concerned about the condition of his health.

"I feel quite well," he said unexpectedly. "But I have to be careful to follow the advice of my despotic doctors so that I don't fall ill again. And that would be most unfortunate—there's so much to be done."

He went on to talk about the achievements of Soviet power quoting a vast number of facts and figures, ending up with:

"But I am going to discuss all this in my report to the congress."

Then he immediately expressed the desire to hear what we had to say about recent events in Italy.

One of the members of our delegation gave a brief account of what had taken place during the last week and repeated the mistaken view, which he had already expressed to our delegates, that the advent of fascism was not a matter of any great importance. According to him it was simply a number of ministerial changes signifying that a more reactionary government had come to power, and nothing more. Therefore, he concluded, there was no need for us to change our tactics and activities. The most important thing was to go on disseminating our party's principles.

Lenin immediately put the following question to him:

"And what do the workers, peasants and ordinary people think about what has happened?"

"They are fighting against it," I said, interrupting their conversation somewhat timidly. I was thinking of the workers who had been killed in Turin and of all those who had fought heroically against the fascists and perished in the towns and villages of Italy.

"They're fighting? That's good," said Lenin and then went on:

"The working class always fights to win and protect democratic rights, even if they are limited by bourgeois power. And when it loses them, it fights to restore them and at the same time seeks for allies...."

His speech was interrupted by the entry of Nadezhda Konstantinovna who greeted us and then gave Lenin a silent look.

"Guilty again," he said assuming the jocular tone in which he always talked about his health, "our time is up. That's why Nadezhda Konstantinovna has come in. The doctors are very strict: talks are not allowed to continue for more than a certain number of minutes. And being a well-disciplined person I do what they say. We'll meet again at the congress," he added warmly, accompanying us to the door of his study.

When he was bidding us good-bye he said in a serious voice:

"You have a hard and difficult job ahead. The vital thing is never, under any circumstances whatsoever, to lose touch with the workers, peasants and women, with the life of the ordinary people."

When I got back to the hotel where our delegation was staying I met Comrade Germanetto, who asked me if I had really been to see Lenin. I said that I had.

"How lucky you are," he said. "We won't have a chance to see him though."

"Yes, you will," I told him. "We're all going to see and hear him at the congress."

"They say he won't be there. His doctors won't let him."

"He will. He said so himself."

Germanetto's face lit up and he went to pass on the good news to the other comrades. Shortly afterwards Comrade Natangelo dropped in to check that it was really true. He was a young worker from Naples whom we had jokingly nicknamed "the singer" because of the widespread belief that everyone born in Naples has a wonderful voice. He was often asked to sing by delegates from other countries and willingly responded with this or that Neapolitan song. Later he confessed that he had never sung as much as he did in Moscow. "The singer" was very afraid that he would not have a chance to greet Lenin in the name of his fellow workers as they had asked him to.

"How will I ever show my face again, if I don't do as they asked me?" he said. "They collected money at the factory to help me come here."

Lenin did come to the congress. During the meeting the members of our delegation suddenly found out that Lenin was making his way to the hall along the corridor. We rushed to meet him. Germanetto greeted him in French and then explained that we were the Italian delegates. Natangelo was tremendously excited.

"Now you can pass on the greetings from your comrades in Naples," I whispered to him.

But all he could do was look at Lenin without uttering a single word.

"I'll tell my comrades all about it," he said afterwards. "They'll understand why I was so excited."

And our Neapolitan friend's fellow countrymen did understand everything perfectly, of course.

Rome, April 1960

*O Lenine. Vospominaniya zaru-
beznykh sovremennikov,
Moscow, 1962*

No. 178

Bedrich Runge¹

At the 4th Congress of the Comintern

It was November 13, 1922 and we were waiting excitedly for Lenin to speak. He was to read the report entitled "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution".

All the delegates had arrived and there were hundreds of guests, as well as workers straight from the factories and peasants straight from the fields. Everyone wanted to hear Lenin. We had never seen him before and were waiting impatiently for him to appear. Suddenly we heard shouts of "Lenin's here!"

He walked quickly across the hall. He was wearing an ordinary grey suit of the type very common in Prague. This was the man who had proclaimed the downfall of tsarism and led 150 million people to socialism. This was Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat. I had naively imagined him quite differently.

Accompanied by a thunderous ovation he made his way to the platform and began to speak. From his very first words it was obvious that here was a speaker who had complete faith in his cause and was now trying to convey a certain idea to his audience as consistently and compellingly as possible. He did not have recourse

¹ Runge, Bedřich (b. 1893)—a Czech. Left for England in 1911 and joined the English Labour Party. Returned to Czechoslovakia in 1919 and joined the Social-Democratic Party, later becoming a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1921). Delegate to the 4th Congress of the Comintern in 1922. Worked on *Inprekorr* from 1922 to 1939. Lived abroad during the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. Subsequently returned to Czechoslovakia and held leading posts in the press.

to any of the usual devices employed by speakers. He analysed and reasoned, constantly basing his argument on an objective assessment of the situation and, above all, on common sense. He never became sentimental and relied exclusively on facts—real, hard facts. Lenin smiled frequently and his face with its strong forehead bore a slightly ironical expression. He would cast an intelligent glance over his audience, picking out individual members and talking to them.

He began by explaining the basic principles behind the New Economic Policy and reporting on its positive results, quoting the financial system as an example.

Those who heard these words and are familiar with the astronomical growth of the modern Soviet economy and the amazing achievements of the Soviet people in all branches of human activity are able to appreciate Lenin's true genius. His faith in the power of the working class has been confirmed more than a thousand times over.

Lenin was capable of self-criticism. We were all most surprised when we heard the following words from his lips: "Without a doubt we have committed and shall commit a large number of foolish errors," he said, and then added, "if our enemies tell us this we will answer that we have only just started learning, but are learning so systematically that we are sure of getting good results."¹

These results have already appeared and staggered the whole world.

We drank in Lenin's words which gave such clear and precise expression to his ideas. When he left the platform after a storm of applause, each one of us said to himself: "Today you've learnt a thing or two which you won't forget as long as you live"....

I shall never forget a conversation I had with Comrade Lenin, which was of particular interest to me as a journalist. This took place about 8-10 days after Lenin had presented his report at the 4th International

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 418.

al Congress. He had invited Comrade Gyula Alpári,¹ who was in charge of *Internationale Presse-korrespondenz*,² to discuss the magazine's future policy. Comrade Alpári asked me to be present as his "right-hand" man.

I can still remember the extremely mixed emotions with which I carried out this request. I was inexpressibly delighted to have the opportunity of meeting Lenin in person. But at the same time I was worried by the fact that only a few weeks ago I had given up the editorship of the Liberec newspaper *Vorwärts* and here I was about to join in a conversation with Lenin, in the course of which problems might be discussed which I knew were still beyond me.

I knew of the great importance which Lenin attached to the party press. "The Organisational Building of Communist Parties, the Methods and Essence of Their Work" formulated at the 3rd Comintern Congress with Lenin's active participation included a section "On the Party Press" which stated, *inter alia*, that the party should do its utmost to establish and improve the communist press.

The party should pay more attention to the quality of newspapers and not to their quantity. Each Communist Party must possess as a matter of priority a good central organ, preferably published daily.

The aim of our newspapers was to collect the valuable experience of members of the party and present it to other party members as guidance for the constant supervision and improvement of communist methods of work.

Without this widespread, concentrated organisational work by the communist newspapers, Lenin pointed

¹ Alpári, Gyula (1882-1944)—an active figure in the Hungarian and international communist movements, journalist and chief editor of the official organ of the Comintern, *Internationale Presse-korrespondenz* (*Inprekorr*) and later of *Rundschau* from its founding in 1921 up to his arrest by the Gestapo in Paris in 1941. Killed by the fascists in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1944.

² The first issue of the magazine appeared in September 1921.

out, there was little chance of achieving democratic centralism and an efficient division of labour in the Communist Party and, consequently, of fulfilling the party's historical task.

In order to assist our parties in carrying out these tasks, the magazine *Internationale Presse-korrespondenz* was founded late in 1920, which came out once a week in German, English and French and was printed on one side of each sheet only. We were to give Lenin a progress report on the magazine.

As soon as I was actually standing beside Comrade Lenin all my confusion and embarrassment disappeared. I was introduced to him as a new member of the staff of *Inprekorr* by Comrade Alpári, who had first met him before the First World War. When Lenin heard that I was from Liberec and had been the editor of *Vorwärts* he began to ask me questions about the workers' movement in Liberec and about the paper with which he was clearly familiar. Lenin was aware that Liberec was a centre of the textile industry and astonished me by asking about the workers at the Liebig textile factory. He talked to me as if we were old friends. I suddenly felt completely at ease and answered all his questions trying to be as lucid and informative as possible.

After this short talk Lenin began to speak about the magazine *Internationale Presse-korrespondenz*, known in party circles as *Inprekorr* for short. He emphasised the importance of this magazine as a source of information for our party press all over the world.

At that time our movement did not have its own press organs. Only the most well-known Communist newspapers and magazines, like the Paris *L'Humanité*, the Berlin *Rote Fahne* and the Czech *Rude Právo* were able to subscribe to the bourgeois press agencies. Provincial communist publications were forced to get their news from other newspapers, mainly the central party organ, but also unfortunately often from the bourgeois press as well. The editors of our provincial publications were not always sufficiently politically educated to be able to give a correct Marxist interpre-

tation to the information which they received. For this reason *Inprekorr* was entrusted with the task of providing our party press with reliable information about the position of the working class, its struggle and achievements throughout the world. First and foremost, Lenin said, it should carry systematic, detailed reports about the Soviet Union—the world's first workers' and peasants' state. We should combat the false, slanderous information about the Soviet Union which was being churned out by our enemies, with our own correct data and explain, to the workers in particular, the true essence of the proletarian revolution and its achievements.

But our reporting was not to be limited to the Soviet Union alone. We were to support all working-class movements and the struggles of the smallest nationalities. These events were to be given regular publicity in our newspapers. A great deal of space should be devoted to presenting a well-argued case for them. It was vitally important to keep the masses informed of every happening, together with the principles underlying it, and to keep these events in the public eye in order for the working class to gain a proper understanding of what was involved.

It was therefore essential, as he put it, for *Inprekorr* to have good correspondents in all countries.

Comrade Lenin advised us to make use of the work of the 4th Comintern Congress at which all the Communist Parties were represented by their leaders.

Although this conversation with Lenin lasted for less than an hour his advice to us became the guiding principles which were followed in all the issues of *Inprekorr* until the Second World War put an end to its publication.

In accordance with Comrade Lenin's suggestion, we—Comrade Alpári and myself—discussed the question of finding suitable correspondents for *Inprekorr* with the representatives of the various Communist Parties and agreed that the political bureaux of their respective parties would each appoint one person to be responsible for providing material. Anyone glancing

through the old copies of *Inprekorr* today (or the subsequent magazine *Rundschau*) will see that the main articles were always written by leading members of the various Communist Parties. It should suffice to mention a few of the names: from our party—comrades Gottwald, Zápotocký, Šmeral, Kopecký, Gaken Krejbich and others, from the German party—Thälmann, Pieck and others, from the French—Cachin, Thorez, Semard, Berlioz and others, from the Italian—Gransci, Ercoli (Togliatti), Longo, etc., from the Spanish—Díaz, Passionaria and others, from the English party—Pollitt, etc.

Inprekorr was to continue to be published in Berlin, not only because of the city's central location which made communications easier, but also because the paper could be published legally there.

This situation was not to last for long, however. When the Communist Party was prohibited in Germany at the end of 1923 and *Inprekorr* had to find another place for publication, the city of Vienna was chosen where we were forced to work under severe technical difficulties.

Following an agreement with our Italian comrades, an Italian edition was added to the German, French and English editions. It was fated to last for only two years, however, because the fascist dictatorship in Italy made it completely impossible to distribute *La Corrispondenza Internazionale* illegally (this was the name of the Italian edition of *Inprekorr*).

*O Lenine. Vospominaniya zaru-
beznykh sovremennikov,
Moscow, 1962*

No. 179

*Wilhelm Pieck*¹

Reminiscences of Lenin

Moscow, October 29, 1921. Lenin was speaking on the New Economic Policy at the Moscow Regional Party Conference held in the House of Trade Unions which used to be a club for the nobility. One of my friends was interpreting his speech for me. In a simple manner, without raising his voice or making any unnecessary gestures, Lenin was explaining why the new policy was necessary. The comrades were straining their ears so as not to miss a single word. True, a rejoinder was heard now and then, but Lenin paid no attention to them. Finishing his speech suddenly, he sat down at the Presidium table. There was applause and then Lenin took the floor for the opposition. Lenin replied to his opponents in his closing speech and his

¹ Pieck, Wilhelm (1876-1960)—an outstanding figure in the German and international working-class movements, one of the founders and leaders of the Communist Party of Germany and President of the German Democratic Republic. Joined the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1895. During the First World War he fought against the chauvinistic policies of the Social-Democrat leaders and opposed the imperialist war; one of the founders of the Spartacus League. Frequently arrested. Played an active part in the November Revolution of 1918 in Germany. Was elected member of the Central Committee at the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Germany in December 1918. Fought for the transformation of the Communist Party into a truly revolutionary Marxist party of the new type and was one of the leaders of the anti-fascist movement.

Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1928 and member of its Presidium and Secretariat from 1931. Presented a report on the activities of the Executive Committee at the 7th Congress of the Comintern in 1935 and was elected as one of its secretaries. Following the arrest of Ernst Thälmann at the beginning of 1933, Pieck was elected Chairman of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. Held the post of Chairman of the German Socialist Unity Party from 1946 right up to his death in 1960.

tone was sarcastic. The atmosphere of the meeting had changed completely. The applause was louder and more prolonged. Lenin had won over the audience, which had at first been hostile to the New Economic Policy.

Lenin's study in the Kremlin, November 10, 1921. Heckert and I were telling Lenin about the situation in the German party and the danger of sinking into the morass of opportunism because of Levi's supporters. We went on to voice our fears about the extreme Leftists, the impending crisis caused by Friesland's group and the growing muddled opposition of the extreme Left. Lenin listened carefully without interrupting once—an art at which he was a past master. When we had finished he reassured us, by saying that far greater difficulties had already been overcome within the Russian Communist Party. He elaborated on this with a shrewd twinkle in his eye. An hour slipped by and Lenin's secretary was impatiently reminding him that it was time to go. Wishing our party success, Lenin shook hands with us and bade us farewell—little did we realise that it was forever. The same evening we left for Germany.

January 22, 1924. At 10.30 a.m. the telephone rang in my room at the Lux Hotel in Moscow. It was one of our friends asking whether it was true that Lenin was no longer with us—that he had died last night. No, it couldn't be true. Only the day before yesterday I had heard that he was feeling better. Without giving the matter much thought I phoned Clara Zetkin to make sure. Clara did not know the news yet—no one had dared to tell her because they were afraid of the effect that it would have on her. A few minutes later she rang me to say that it was true, her voice choked with emotion. Lenin was dead. Soon the streets were filled with people who had come to mourn the parting of their great leader. Workers, men and women, streamed from the plants and factories to the centre of the city, where they stood in silent crowds, stunned by grief at their bitter loss.

* * *

January 23, 1924. The leaders and active members of the Russian Communist Party, the Comintern and its sections had assembled at the house where Lenin died in Gorki—an hour and a half's train ride from Moscow. It was early morning and outside on this clear, cold winter's day the plain was covered with deep snow.

Lenin was lying in his coffin in the room where he died. The features of his wax-like face had become more pronounced and there was hardly a single wrinkle on it. It was difficult to believe that he was no more. People who had been through all the horrors of the civil war carried out his body silently with tears in their eyes, and the desolate crowd followed their dead leader along a narrow path across snow-covered fields to the station. People, young and old, were standing all along the railway track. The strains of the Russian funeral march rang out poignantly.

Moscow. Thousands of people were moving in an endless procession to the House of Trade Unions where Lenin's coffin lay in its majestic hall. The first to mount a guard of honour were eminent Bolsheviks, Lenin's closest friends and comrades. Among them there were members of the Political Bureau. Comrade Krupskaya stood beside her deceased husband and lifelong friend. It was terribly cold, with the temperature at more than 30 degrees below freezing point. Day and night huge crowds of people kept streaming into the centre of the city and standing in the streets for hours on end. Flames from the many bonfires offered a little warmth to these shivering bystanders. For four whole days and nights thousands of people filed past Lenin's coffin in a constant stream to pay their last respects. It was an intensely moving and painful experience.

* * *

January 26, 1924. The memorial meeting of the 2nd All-Union Congress of Soviets was being held in the

Bolshoi Theatre. Its vast stalls and four balconies were crammed with deputies. The members of the Central Executive Committee were sitting on the enormous stage. Comrade Krupskaya said a few simple but inspired words which produced a tremendously moving effect on all those present. Then Kalinin took the floor and was followed by representatives of the Soviets—workers and peasants, men and women. Then those present filed past Lenin's coffin grief-stricken and apprehensive of the future.

January 27, 1924. Lenin has been laid to rest by the Kremlin wall in Red Square. At 4.00 p.m. salvoes were fired and factory sirens sounded forth their last salute. The whole of Russia waited with bated breath—it was Lenin's funeral. On the vast square side by side stood workers, peasants and Red Army men who had come from all over the country to pay their final tribute. The Russian funeral march, *You Have Fallen, a Sacrifice*, rolled like a mighty wave over the huge square. It continued to echo in my ears even when I was on the train travelling back to Germany.

* * *

November 10, 1925. A long line of people by Lenin's Mausoleum in Red Square are waiting for the clock to strike five. The Mausoleum opens for one hour each day, when workers and peasants file past Lenin who is now resting in peace. Even though they did not have the skill and knowledge to preserve Lenin's life, they are now doing all they can to preserve his body. He lies in eternal sleep under a glass covering. But his cause lives on and the great Communist Party created by him advances from victory to victory.

*O Lenine. Vospominaniya zaru-
beznykh sovremennikov,*
Moscow, 1962

Part Six

THE FLAT IN THE KREMLIN

The following are entries from
the Visitors' Book at Lenin's
flat in the Kremlin.

No. 180

Lenin is the great teacher of the proletarian revolution. He is a man of the highest moral principles who inculcates in us, his pupils, diligence, thrift, integrity and frankness.

Lenin is immortal.

Ho Chi Minh

July 13, 1955

No. 181

I was deeply moved by my visit to Vladimir Ilyich's flat. For me it was a new lesson in Leninism. I was amazed by his human warmth, his simple, modest way of life, his passion for work and tremendous self-discipline. Thanks once again to Lenin and his great achievements.

Edoardo D'Onofrio

*Member of the Secretariat of the
Central Committee of the Italian
Communist Party,
Vice-President of the Italian
Chamber of Deputies*

August 18, 1955

No. 182

Many of the comrades present at this Conference¹ have now passed away, and there are possibly only three of us left who can remember it. Today we are on the spot where Comrade Lenin lived and built the new life, and I hope that this new life, begun by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, will embrace the whole world. To the peace and happiness of peoples the whole world over.

Dr. Václav Vacek
Ex-Primator of Prague
Marie Vacková (his wife)

September 14, 1955

No. 183

Through his works and his life Lenin was the leading light of Communists throughout the world. His genius is guiding working people all over the world in their struggle for liberation.

French Communists

February 27, 1956

No. 184

The delegation of the supreme organs of people's power in the G.D.R. has been deeply moved by its visit to the place where Lenin worked, that great and

¹ This evidently refers to the 6th Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1912.

unassuming man, who not only explained the world but also changed it.

*Delegation from the People's Chamber
of the German Democratic Republic*

April 26, 1956

No. 185

Lenin was not only the great teacher of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the great teacher of the working class and working people the whole world over, but also a Communist whose private life was remarkably unassuming.

Delegation of Vietnamese journalists

July 24, 1956

No. 186

We are very proud to have had the honour of seeing those cherished objects which bear witness to the simple yet great life of the teacher of the international revolutionary movement.

We are profoundly indebted to Lenin who has shown the peoples of the whole world the path to freedom.

*Delegation of the National
Assembly of the Democratic
Republic of Vietnam*

October 19, 1956

No. 187

The Finnish people revere Lenin's memory; it was he who acknowledged Finland's independence.

*Karl-August Fagerholm
Kanno Kleemola*

February 3, 1957

No. 188

I highly value the privilege of a visit to this place made sacred by the memory of the great man, scholar, leader and administrator who has given new life to the great Russian people.

His life and its simplicity is a lesson for all.

*Durga Das
Chief Editor of the newspaper
"Hindustan Times"
(Delhi, India)*

August 28, 1957

No. 189

All this goes to show that Lenin was the greatest revolutionary leader the world has ever known.

*Thakin Tin Maung
Minister of Information for Burma
and members of delegation*

November 12, 1957

No. 190

It has been a proud and memorable occasion to have been shown the path to this historic building in which Lenin worked and lived to build the first successful workers' State.

*John Gollan
General Secretary of the British
Communist Party*

November 1957

No. 191

I am so moved by visiting the study and other rooms in which Lenin lived that I cannot put it into words. His greatness and our respect can be expressed in a single word—modesty.

*Manolis Glezos
(Greece)*

December 2, 1957

No. 192

The Uruguay delegation, which visited Lenin's flat and study during its tour of the Kremlin, expresses its profound admiration of this outstanding figure in the history of mankind.

(signature)

January 27, 1958

No. 193

Lenin showed mankind the way to freedom. He departed from us before his time, but his deeds are immortal. Lenin and the Party, Lenin and the October Revolution are one and the same thing. Lenin stands for a shining future, for will-power, diligence, valour, friendship and peace.

Bulgarian Comrades

September 9, 1959

No. 194

Such a great man as Lenin belongs to the whole of mankind.

Asmara Hadi

Rathna Juamai, Asnawi Said

August 31, 1960

No. 195

It is difficult to express the emotions which I experienced on visiting Lenin's flat and study.

Lenin was everything a true revolutionary should be. Everything about his flat bears witness to the leader's remarkable modesty. Everything about his life should be an example for revolutionaries the whole world over.

Antonio Gruber

Delegate from Venezuela

1964

Name Index

ADLER, Friedrich—243
 ALPARI, Gyula—321, 322, 323
 AMTER, Israel—220
 ANGUIANO, Daniel—120
 AN LUN-HO—194
 ARMAND, Inessa—33
 ASNAWI, Said—336
 AXELROD, P.—31

 BABEL, August—166
 BALABANOVA, Angelica—73
 BALDUIN, Oscar—137
 BALLISTER, James Robert (Minor)—143
 BARBUSSE, Henri—264
 BARTHEL—43
 BAUER, Otto—276
 BEATTY, Bessie—146
 BELL, Thomas—176, 296
 BERLIOZ—324
 BERTEN—37
 BILLINGS, K.—68
 BLAGOEV, Dimitr—42, 44
 BOIDA, Anna—262
 BOSH, Y.—44
 BOURDERON, Albert—46
 BRACKE, Wilhelm—88
 BRAUN—234
 BRONSKI, Mieczyslaw—48
 BROWN, W. M.—249
 BRYANT (REED), Louise—288
 BULLITT, William Christian—125
 BUCHELOW, Herbert—65

 CACHIN, Marcel—14, 160, 187, 215, 324
 CARLYLE—201
 CAROTI, Arturo—134
 CHANG TSO-LIN—139, 140
 CHAPLIN, Ralph—65
 CHICHERIN—131, 138, 142, 164, 274
 CLEMENCEAU—201
 COATES—239
 COHEN, Marie—144
 CONNOLLY, R.—204
 COUCHE—54
 COUE, N. (N. D. KOCHA)—54, 55
 CREEL, George—71
 CROMWELL—201

DAGILIS, Ignas—202
 DALSTRÖM, Kata—194
 DALY, Edwin A.—29
 DAMBE, S.—263
 DANIEL, T.—54
 DARIO, Segre—23
 DAUMIG—93
 DBOS, D.—23
 DEBS, V.—59, 68, 85, 223
 DEMOLIN, Emile—22
 DENIKIN—106, 294
 DESLINIERES, Gabrielle—182
 DESLINIERES, Lucien—182
 DIAZ—324
 DODGE, Phelps—66
 D'ONOFRIO, Edoardo—331
 DUGGAN, M. I.—122, 123, 124
 DUMAS, Charles—56, 57
 DUNBAR, Robin—12, 152, 153
 DURGA, Das—334

 ECKERT, Jakob—12, 129, 130, 131
 EDLIN, William—81
 EDMUNDS, E. A.—256
 EICH, Wilhelm—161
 ENGELS, Friedrich—190, 196, 233, 274, 276
 ERCOLI (Togliatti)—324

 FAGERHOLM, Karl-August—334
 FLANAGAN, H. H.—126
 FLYNN, Elizabeth—59
 FOTIYEVA—142, 170
 FRANCE—145
 FRANCE, Anatole—150
 FRIESLAND—325
 FRIIS—299, 301
 FRÖBOLI, Pedro—118
 FROSSARD, Ludovic-Oscar—188
 FRY, Ruth A.—106
 FRYE, Robert B.—147, 148

 GAKEN—324
 GANDHI—260
 GARDEN, J.—108
 GELTSER—289
 GERMANETTO—317
 GITLOW, Benjamin—222
 GLEZOS, Manolis—335
 GOETHE—215
 GOLLAN, John—335
 GÓMEZ, José—132, 133

GORRUNOU, N. P.—149
 GORKY, Maxim—164
 GORTER, Herman—9, 11, 33, 35, 36, 38, 58, 73, 75, 85, 86
 GOTTWALD—324
 GRACIA, Merino R.—119, 121
 GRAMSCI, Antonio—315, 324
 GRAZIADEI, Antonio—193
 GRECO, Raphael—255
 GREIS, Jakob—130
 GRUBER, Antonio—15, 204, 336
 GUILBEAUX, Henri—49, 50
 GUYAU—266

 HADI, Asmara—336
 HAKKI, Ismail—184
 HARDING, Warren Gamaliel—290
 HARDY, Fred—59, 73
 HARVE, John—108
 HASKELL, William—223
 HASSE—98
 HAYWOOD, William D.—59, 60, 65, 85, 135, 136, 147, 148
 HEARST—145, 146
 HECKERT—326
 HELLER, A. A.—73, 168
 HERVE—274
 HO CHI MINH—331
 HÖGLUND, Carl Zeth Konstantin—37
 HUYSMANS, Camille—6, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29
 HYNDMAN—274

 INKPIN, Albert—167

 JAURES—228, 270
 JUAMAI, Rathna—336

 KABAKCHIEV, K.—199
 KALININ—143, 327
 KAMENEV, I. B.—26
 KANE, Sousi A.—159
 KARAKHAN—130
 KATAYAMA, Sen—6, 21, 307
 KAUTSKY, K.—42, 85, 89, 98
 KERENSKY—285
 KERR, Charles—39
 KLYNES, John Maynard—164, 165
 KHALTURIN—313
 KHARITONOV, M. M. (Boris)—48
 KLEEMOLA, Kanno—334
 KOLAROV, Vasil Petrov—258
 KOLCHAK—106, 139, 295

KOLLONTAI, A. M.—39, 283

KOPECKY—324

KOTOKU, D.—21

KREJBICH—324

KRZHIZHANOUSKY—127, 156

KRUPSKAYA, N. K.—16, 56, 289, 305, 317, 327

KUN, Béla—88, 90, 104, 105, 130, 199

KUUSINEN, Otto—79

LADD—223

LANSBURY, George—301

LARIN—325

LAZZARI, Constantino—37, 169, 171, 173

LEAR, J.—154

LEBRUN—53

LEDEROUR, Georg—45, 274, 278

LEPEYIT—197, 199

LEVITSKY, M.—15, 204

LEVI, Paul—129, 130, 199, 306, 326

LEZHAVA—123

LIEBKNECHT, Karl—15, 82, 97, 100, 210, 228, 306

LINCOLN, Abraham—126

LITTLE, Frank—12, 63

LLOYD, George—126, 201

LONGO—324

LOSEV, B. W.—155

LOUWE, R.—251

LUNACHARSKY—289

LUXEMBURG, Rosa—82, 97, 210, 228, 306

LUOV—285

MacALPIN, E. W.—183

MacDONALD, Catherine B.—69

MacDONALD, John A.—65, 69

MacDONALD, Ramsay—274

MacLEAN—63

MAFFI—169, 171

MAMED-KHAN—254

MARAT—195

MARCHLEWSKI, Julian—287

MARING, H.—188, 261

MARTENS, L. K.—123, 124, 144, 145, 156, 163

MARTIN, Edward—203

MARX, Karl—16, 90, 92, 99, 184, 189, 191, 194, 195, 196, 200, 203, 216, 218, 233, 241, 274, 276

MAXIMOVICH, Misha—271

McBRIDE, Isaac—291, 292, 295

McLANIE, W.—191, 201

MEHRING, Franz—82, 83

MERRHEIM, Alphonse—36, 46

MEYER, Ernst—83

MIMIOLA, Julius—48

MONATTE—37

MOONEY, Tom—68, 69

MOSKOWITSCH—78

MÜLA, B.—186

MÜNZENBERG, Wilhelm—48

MUSSOLINI—315

NAPOLEON—201, 229, 265

NATANGELLO—317, 318

NEUBOLD, Marjory—192

NICOT—37

NOBS, Ernst—47, 73

NUORTEVA, A. F.—144

OLMINSKY, M. S.—22

PANKHURST, Sylvia Estella—91, 96

PANNEKOEK, Anton—7, 35, 38, 41

PASSIONARIA (Dolorés Ibarruri)—324

PAULOWSKI, F.—9, 115

PESTAÑA, Angel—119, 197

PETROU, Zakhari—42

PETROUSKI, Pal—270, 272

PIECK, Wilhelm—324, 325

PLATTEN, Fritz—8, 47, 58

PLEKHANOV—42

POLLITT—324

PONSONG, R.—166

POSTGATE, R. W.—301

PYATAKOV, G.—44

QUELCH, Tom—14, 191, 201

QUINLAND, Patrick—202

RADEK—33, 37

RAHJA, Jukka—139

RAMÍREZ, Jesús—117

RAUERA, Camilla—314

RAVESTÉYN, Willem van—35

REED, John—14, 181, 280, 288

REINSIEIN, Boris—299

RIBOLDI—171

RIOS, Fernando de los—120

ROBINSON, Fred—66

ROLAND-HOLST, Henriette—41, 266

ROLLAND, Romain—17, 265

ROTHSTEIN, Theodore—37

ROUSSEAU—201

ROY, Brachen—69

RUBANOUICH, I. A.—27
 RUNGE, Bedřich—319
 RUSSELL, Bertrand—300
 RUSSELL, Charles Edward—70
 RUSSELL, Virgil G.—163
 RUTGERS, J.—106, 107, 168
 RUTHENBERG, Charles Emil—221

SADOUL, Jacques—14, 17, 183, 228
 SANCHEZ, Estebán—253
 SCHEIDEMANN—98
 SCHMID—48
 SCHWARTZ, M. I.—199
 SEMARD—324
 SERRATI, G. M.—169, 170, 173, 190, 298
 SHABLIN, N.—187
 SHIAU, Bernard—274
 SHIAU, Frank—106
 SHINGARIOU—285
 SHKLOUSKY, G. L.—26, 86
 SMERAL—324
 STANG, Emil—286
 STEINHARDT (GRUBER), Karl—274
 STEINMETZ, Charles P.—155, 156
 STEWART, Robert—217
 STIRNER, A.—224
 SUN YAT-SEN—138, 140, 247
 SUERDLOU, Y. M.—53

TANNER, Jack—192
 TCHERNOU—288
 TERRACINI, Umberto—232
 TESLA, Nikola—10, 127, 128
 THAKIN TIN MAUNG—334
 THALMANN, Ernst—324, 325
 THOREZ—324
 TROTSKY—147, 171, 293
 TROYANOUSKY, A. A.—26
 TURNER, Ben—10, 114

ULYANOVA, M. I.—305
 URITSKY—80

UACEK, Václav—332
 UACKOVA, Marie—332
 VANDERLIP, Washington B.—126
 VANEK, M.—186
 VELLIER, Julien—150
 VERGEAT, Marcel—197, 199
 VILER—63
 VIX—89

VOROUSKY, V. V.—22
 VORSE, Mary Heaton—154
 WALFORD, F.—54
 WARREN, Fred D.—30
 WIJNKOOP, David—32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 84, 106, 107, 196
 WILSON, Woodrow—69, 76, 125, 182, 201
 WOTHERSPOON, W. A.—128
 WRANGEL—139

YUAN SHIH-KAI—139
 YUDENICH—139

ZAKHARIA—260
 ZAPOTOCKÝ, Antonín—15, 185, 324
 ZETKIN, Klara—9, 78, 85, 305, 326
 ZINOVIEV—42, 43, 171
 ZYRANIK, Bohdan—287

Request to readers

Progress Publishers would be glad to have your opinion of this book, its translation and design and any suggestions you may have for future publications.

Please send your comments to 21, Zubovsky Boulevard, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Редактор русского текста *И. Горелов*

Художественный редактор *В. Ан*

Технический редактор *Л. Шупейко*

Подписано к печати 16. VII. 1969 г. Формат 84×108^{2/32}
Бум. л. 5^{2/3}. Печ. л. 18,06+10 вклеек Уч.-изд. л. 11,38
Изд. № 10157. Заказ 1062. Цена 1 руб. 03 коп.

Издательство «Прогресс»
Комитета по печати при Совете Министров СССР
Москва, Г-21, Zubovsky бульвар, 21

Московская типография № 7 Главполиграфпрома
Комитета по печати при Совете Министров СССР
пер. Аксакова, 13